

# MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence  
affaires of the Court, to the  
rest of the KINGDOME.



*The second Weeke, ending Jan. 13. 1643.*

SUNDAY. Jan. 7.



Thyeare being come about, and the people so well pillaged, that the Plunderers are now at the bottome, mindes some of the Rebels to provide for future. And therefore (as this day we were advertised) the *Walloones* and other forraigners in the Rebels Army have quit that service, and are leaving the Kingdome: For, the *London Ware-houses* have already been *Excised*, and every man paid for his whole stocke at once, which at first promised vast summes towards maintenance of this Rebellion: but now the *Excise* being but an after-gleaning, and all tricks played over, for raising any more, so as the *Members* have emptyed every house, and are selling the house it selfe: This tells the world, that *London* (which they looked on as the *Myne* of *England*) is capable of being exhausted, whereby these *Walloones* (men of tender consciences) begin to doubt the equity of the *Cause*; which (in their opinion) must needs be bad, if once it grow poore.

And this (it may be) is the reason, why their Brethren the

*Scots*



*Scots* have deferred this Invasion a Moneth longer, for though the common people of *Scotland* have promised to themselves good *English* Land, yet they are unwilling to a present pilgrimage (through a deepe Northerne snow) without ready money; the *English* they know have beene pretty bountifull, as Master *Pryn* intimates in the second part of his last new book, where (among other casts of his calling) you may finde him quating a famous Statute made 7. *Hen. 7. cap. 6.* if you remember not the Statute 'tis richly worth your reading.

But since we mention King *Henry* the *Seventh*, he pleased to take notice that the Reformers of *London* have lately found his last Will and Testament: for, on Friday last, *Jan. 5.* the Defacers (commonly called the Committee for *Innovations*) appointed divers workemen to pull downe that famous Organ in *Saint Pauls* Church, with some other convenient Sacriledge for the use of the *Members*. And as these spoyles were busie at their profession, they found (if you'll beleieve them) the last Will and Testament of King *Henry* the *Seventh* which they say lay in a private place about the Organ. And their Pamphlets this weeke tell us, this *Will* should have been transcribed and come forth in Print, but that there are some passages in it, which are of great consequence, and thought by the *Parliament* not fit yet to be published (if it be a Kings *Will*, no question there are passages which are of some consequence.) But I wish they would shew us some clause in this *Will*, which gives the *Members* power so shamefully to deface King *Henry* the seventh's *Chappell*, which till now hath beene an evidence of that famous Kings magnificence and piety: And whether those that laid it up in *Saint Pauls*, ever imagined a generation was to come, who would pull downe the Organs and deface the Church, out of meeke Religion; and this done within three yeares, after a most Gracious King had bestowed many thousands of pounds towards its reparation; which impartiall posterity will looke on with reverence, as one of those testimonies of His Sacred Majesties piety and devotion. As for the *Will*, the *Members* have practised this way so often, as now we are not easily taken; for no question they intend some pretty

pretty new Invention to be published er'e long, whereof this Rumour is but the preparative. They have forged so much against the KING and QUEENES Majesty, that 'twill be no newes if they practise on other Princes, who are shut up in their graves and cannot answer.

MONDAY, Jan: 8.

You may remembe in the 36 Wecke of the last yeare, we told you of certaine zealous young Maids in the Citie of *Norwich*, who covenanted together to raise a Troope of Horse for the Rebels service; and then we said these forward Girles (when honest times came againe) would either live to be stale Virgins, or else make use of these dayes of Reformation. And for a truth we are certified, that no lesse then five of this Virgin Troope are now great with childe, but by whom it is not yet signified: onely 'tis said these Sisters are very busie, plundering for husbands against the good houre. And let all Virgins looke to it, for people hereafter will scarce thinke them honest, who are so bold and shamelesse as to joyne in a Rebellion against their own Soveraigne.

But the Shee Committee of *Coventry* hath beene a little more wary, being somewhat divided by a faction of their Governours; for Master *Puressey* is growne so stiffie by opposing the Earle of *Denbigh*, that their Brethren and Sisters are much broken, as appears by their Petition to the pretended Houses, wherein (to use their owne words) *They beg that the Earle of Denbigh may be given unto them; for we (say they) are a people in a languishing condition, though we are and ever have beene devoted servants to the King and Parliament (we know you have beene, and shall thanke you accordingly) wherefore we beseech you that our Committe may consist of Gentlemen of a knowne worth and estate in our Country, (you ayme at Master Puressey, and truly you are right) for there are so many Commanders and Officers who first judge of our abilities and estates, and then receive our moneys; (yes, that they will, as long as you have a penny, and after they have drayned you, turne you off*

for Malignants.) We your poore Petitioners have disbursed large summes to the Parliament, (you must not be poore Petitioners till you have disbursed All) of which summes we humbly desire that his Lordship may nominate some sufficient trusty Gentlemen to take an accompt, (nay, we know you have been cheated sufficiently) which will satisfie our desires. What bold people are you! will not your desires be satisfied, unlesse you have an accompt? 'Tis enough to sequester your holy Garrison. For though you have beene admirably cheated, your friends think it fit you should be so still.

And yet we must grant these men of *Coventry* doe nothing but their duty, for a new *Ordinance* is broke loose amongst us, which the *Members* sent forth to warne the whole Kingdome, that now all is their owne, and therefore they imply they'll use no more words, but in six lines tell us, *That whereas His Majestie doth make a War against His Parliament, for the promoting whereof, divers Forces both of Horse and Foot have been and are levied; Therefore that no man may be misled through ignorance, the Lords and Commons doe declare, that all such persons as shall upon any pretence whatsoever, assist His Majestie with Horse, Armes, Plate, or Money, are Traytors to His Majestie, and shall be brought to condigne punishment; that is, whosoever offers to save His Majesties life, goes about to destroy Him; and whosoever does not his utmost endeavour to murder Him, is a Traytor to His Majestie, and shall have condigne punishment.* Let this briefe, keene *Ordinance* be translated into all Languages, and after read to all Lunaticks and Assassins in the world, to see what construction they can make of this bloody Non-sense, *That (when great and small shot are levell'd at His Sacred body) whosoever then assists Him, is a Traytor to His Majestie.*

And this is it which lately so tortured an old Gentleman when he was to leave the world; for (as we were certified by Letters out of the West) one Master Beaple of *Barnstable* (a chiefe Member of that Corporation, and one who formerly had assisted the Rebels) dyed lately worth above 20000 l. This Gentleman before and in his sicknesse did often torment and curse

curse himselfe for taking part with the Rebels, commonly adding these very words; *O Lord (said he) what a wicked villain was I to be against my King; I protest if it were to do again, I would burn at a stake before I would contribute one penny against His Majestie*; and withall grew so incensed against Master Peard (*George Peard Burgesse of the place*) that he expunged his name, and put him quite out from being one of his Executors, having formerly made him one by his *Will*: and this he did, because Master Peard formerly was an instrument to seduce him from his obedience. If any suspect the truth of this relation, the Inhabitants of *Barnstable* can easily satisfie him; more particularly Master Gay (*Nephew and Heire to Master Beaple himselfe*) will testifie it for a truth.

## TUESDAY. Jan. 9.

If you reade the *London Pamphlets* of this last Week, you'll finde one passage which this day had a very full answer. The Pamphlet sayes thus, *Ashton the Franciscan Governour of Oxford (Ashton you would say) is so very deeply wounded with his last thrust, that he recovers but slowly, for the Ruffians run him with his Rapier into the very back bone of Popery; this Ashton was one of those which whispered so with His Majestie at York though Sir Arthur was not there, nor ever came to His Majestie till the Army was at Shrewsbury.) But how this fine Intelligence got up to London, the Reader will perceive by these Examinations.*

*The Examinations and particular Answers of  
Francis Cole, Jan. 6. 1643.*

1. *To the first Interrogatory this Examinee saith, That he hath been two severall times at Oxford, and was employed by Sir Samuel Luke.*

2. *To the second he saith, That he came first to Oxford on the Friday next before Christmas day last, and returned towards London the next day.*

3. To the third he saith, That the occasion of his sudden returne was to carry Sir Samuel Luke word, that the Governour of Oxford was dangerously hurt.

4. To the fourth he saith, That Sir Samuel Luke employed him to come to Oxford, to bring him intelligence of all such news as he could enquire out.

5. To the fifth (for I'll trouble you with no more) this Examinee saith, That he hath received a shilling in money of one Lancelot Reads wife since he was in prison, and that the same Lancelot Read hath undertaken to furnish him with intelligence, for which he promised him a pound of Silke for every journey: and this Examinee for his own imployment was promised twenty shillings a journey by Sir Samuel Luke.

Witnesse my hand to all these

FRANCIS COLE.

Now because Francis Cole was so carefull of the Governour, as to post up to London with newes that he was wounded, therefore the Governour prepared to entertaine him at his next returne; and this very day saw him fairely hanged at Oxford, for being hired to betray His Majestie: comming hither for nothing else but onely (as he said himselfe) to carry intelligence of what ever he could search out.

WEDNESDAY. Jan. 10.

But this hereafter will be better provided for, because now (as some have told us who heard the contrivance) Master Laurence Whitaker hath taken a young towardly fellow who was once a Clerke, and procured the young man liberty, for promising to discover all those who write Letters, or hereafter shall give any intelligence to Oxford; so that any Londoner who hath (or is but conceived to have) money, or any thing else which may advantage the Members, such a man no question is a formall Intelligencer, and sends advertisement

to



to Oxford; In all which cases Master *Laurence Whitaker* will doe them justice. And this particular is pressed so farre, that the *French* Ministers are debarred of their liberty to send into *France*, as if it were uncivill for Strangers or Travellers to send into their own Country; which (you must know) began, through a pretended Letter said to be sent from the Lord *Goring* out of *France*, already printed before 'twas written.

Now this Letter you may sweare (as most of those which they intercept) shall say any thing that the *Faction* would have published, particularly against the *Queenes* Majestie, whose blessed innocence is as much above their slander, as their malice. Those Pamphlets which mention this Letter doe it with all possible boldnesse against the *French* Ambassadour, (who is now the constant subject of their Libels) some of them calling him the *Pretended Ambassadour*, for whose sake they print as much rayling against a *French Faction*, as lately against a *Spanish*, and on as equall grounds.

And all this bold clamour against the Prince of *Harcourt*, is onely because they conceive he would be a *Peace Maker*, (*Peace* being as unwelcome to this desperate *Faction*, as *Warre* is to all good men) and therefore they have made a strange discovery of a most horrid Plot to bring in *Peace*. For some of the Citie of *London* sent downe to His Sacred Majestie to know His Pleasure of a Petition for *Peace*, whereunto (all the world will be His witnesses) He ever was most inclinable, as being too well assured, who ever had the Victory the losse would be His Majesties. But this name of *Peace* is so bitter to the *Faction*, that on Saturday last the *Members* voted that young Sir *Henry Vane*, Master *Saint-Johns*, with the Lord *Wharton*, should make a Relation of the pretended Plot to their people of *London*, which was done at a *Common-Councell* on Monday last; where these two worthy Commoners made such rare Speeches against His Sacred Majestie, as have scarce been heard since the third of *November*, 1641; still filling up the periods of their sentences with the *Gun-Powder Treason*, which they said was farre below this new plot for *Peace*. And they labour'd it so well, that the Two pretended *Houses* agreed in



in a Vote, that *shankes* should be given to these worthy Members for their great paines, in slaundering His Sacred Majesty to His owne Subjects.

But you must thinke they were somewhat heightned by their late newes from *Arundell* Castle, where Sir *William Waller* lay with his whole Army 28 dayes, and (as he said himself in his Letter) sacrificed divers of his best Officers, whereof some were Colonels; but finding the worke difficult, and his businesse urgent in other places, he fell upon a course which Sir *William Brereton* taught him at another Castle; that is, hee made a faire market, and in plaine termes bought it; it would shame us to speake thus, if we had it not from such hands as are worthy of credit. But now the sale is over, these new market men cannot agree about it, one saies in print, *they tooke in the Castle 500 foot and 500 horse: Another sayes, 600 foot and 1 Troope of horse: Another 700 in all: Another 900, another 1000: and another after all addes 200 more, and sayes, they tooke 1200, and 1000 Armes: thus they all clash, when they once straggle from truth, and agreed in no particular, but making Bonfires (as they did in *Holborne*) for their happy purchase of *Arundel* Castle, whereof you are likely to heare more hereafter. In the meane time the Citizens may see (if they please) which way the money goes, and what pretty vents the Rebels make use of to let out their contributions.*

This good bargaine of *Arundell* Castle, makes Sir *William* the Purchaser speake wondrous high; insomuch that he sent a Letter on Tuesday last to the prebended House of Commons, that he might have power to place and displace all Governours of Townes and Castles within his Assotiation; which motion he made out of his wonted reverence towards his Excellency, who (in his opinion) is of inferiour deservings. But this tooke not among the Members, because all the Governours both of Townes and Castles had their Commissions from his Excellency, who would acknowledge no Supremacy to Sir *William Waller*. This at first grew through a late difference betweene Sir *William* and the Governour of *Chichester*, who (it seemes) refused to admit Colonell *Norson* to enter his Garrison,

riſon, when lately he was routed and perſued by the Lord *Hopton*. Which difference roſe ſo high betwixt Sir *William* and the Governour, that the Houſe have voted to referre it to his Excellency, to determine the matter as he thinks convenient. For indeed his Excellency ſent a Letter to the *Members* this laſt weeke (which now is in print) wherein he tells them, That the *Commiſſion* he ſent to Sir *William Waller* was not ſo full as he uſually grants, and the reaſons why he limited Sir *William Waller* he forbears to give them, but tells them withall, that he did no more then what he ought to doe, adding that the charge he tooke upon him was not by his ſeeking, though it was a great encouragement to him, that the Houſes voted they would live and dye with him, concluding all with this Proteſtation, that he will never deſert the Cauſe as long as he hath any blond in his *veynes*, till the Kingdome hath regained her peace, or there is an end made by the ſword, which he ſaith is his intention,

But yet Sir *William* is as rough as his Excellencie, and returned this *Commiſſion* backe to Maſter *Nichols* with as much ſcorne and indignation as his Excellency granted it; for (as one of Maſter *Nichols* friends assures us, who ſaw the Letter) Sir *William* begins with theſe very words, I have (ſaith he) returned the *Commiſſion* which is as good as naught, with divers other reproachfull expreſſions againſt his Excellency, which was the reaſon why this Letter was not communicated to the Houſe,

And the true ground why Sir *William* talkes thus big, is becauſe he intends to become Lord of the *Weſt*, where (for his better entertainment) he may pleaſe to take notice, that the two Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon* have joyned in an *Aſſociation*, in the very forme and words following,

Whereas a few malevolent and ambitious perſons in the name of two Houſes of *Parliament*, have by treaſonable praſtiſes imbroiled this Kingdome in a *Civill Warre*, perſued His *Majeſties* perſon, murdered His good Subjects, ſome barbarouſly by the Common hangman againſt Law and Juſtice, others by hoſtile aſſaults, brought a generall deſolation upon the whole Kingdome,

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taking away all liberty from the Members of both Houses by awing, terrifying and assailing them with tumults and Armes, usurping the Royall power, counterfeiting a Great Seale, to shew their horrid intentions against the King, Kingdome, and Government: And finding their Acts not likely to protect them from the punishment due to their merits, have unnaturally invited the Scots to invade this Kingdome, and in these distractions to make a so-  
tall Conquest of this Nation, For resistance whereof and preserving the Common peace, The Inhabitants of Cornwall and Devon have united themselves and for continuance of which union, this ensuing Protestation is to be taken.

**I**A. B. doe in the presence of Almighty God promise, vow, and I protest with my utmost power to maintaine and defend the true reformed Protestants Religion established by Law in this Kingdome, against all Popery, Popish, and other Innovations of Sectaries and Schismatiques, as also His Majesties person and rights against all forces whatsoever and in like manner the Laws, Liberties and Priviledges of Parliament and of this Kingdome.

And I shall to the utmost of my power preserve and defend the peace of the two Counties of Cornewall and Devon, and all persons that shall unite themselves by this protestation in the due performancie thereof, and to my power assist His Majesties Armies for reducing the Towne of Plymmouth, and resistance of all forces of Scots Invaders and others, leavyed under pretence of any authority of two Houses of Parliament, or otherwise without His Majesties personall consent.

And that this Protestation may have it's kindly operation, the two Counties have mutually agreed upon these following Articles.

1 That there be Copies of this Protestation delivered out by the Sheriffe at the Sessions of each County to the Constables of each hundred respectively, and that the said hundred Constables do immediately deliver out severall Copies to all the Petti-Constables which are by the Minister of every Parish Church and Chapel to be published the next Sunday following after the receipt, and then every

every man present to take the same, and subscribe His name thereunto before the said Minister, Constable, or Churchwardens, or two of them: And such of the Parish as shall not be present at the time, do take the same within ten dayes following: and the Ministers and Constables are to give in the list or Certificate of their names that take it, and of them that are absent or refuse, to the Constables of the hundred, who are to deliver the same to the Commissioners at their next generall meeting after the 20 of February next.

That the Army be governed according to His Majesties Articles, and that all persons of what condition soever, be held infamous, and enemies to the publike peace, that shall raise or cause any mutinies or disobedience thereunto, and suffer all severity according to His Majesties Articles.

That all such persons as have been, or shall be slaine in the present Wars, or die in the service, ( by whose life any other person held any lands or rents ) the party to whom the right to grant such land or rent belongeth shall be bound to grant an estate for a life instead of the person so kill'd or dying, under the rents and covenants as it was formerly held unto such person and persons as were intitled to hold the same, and at his or their nomination, and the refusers to loose the double value of the estate, one halfe to His Majestie, the other to the party, and to be imprisoned till payment.

That if any Minister shall refuse or wilfully neglect the solempne Celebration of the Fast appointed by His Majestie on the second Friday of the Month, or shall not read the service and prayers appointed for that Fast, and being called before a Justice of Peace, shall not promise and protest his future conformitie, he be forthwith secured, and his estate sequestred, and the like course to be taken with such Ministers as absent themselves that day, unlessse upon sicknesse or other cause allowed by Two Commissioners or Justices of peace, And the like order to be taken with such as shall not read such bookes as shall be appointed to be read by His Majestie, and the Constables and Churchwardens are to certify their defaults to the next Justices.

That there be provided a thousand barrells of powder, and ten thousand fire-arnes at the charge of both Counties, whereof Corn-

wall to be a fourth, and Devon three parts, according to the proportion of the Grand Subsidie.

There are other Articles, which (because they are too large to be here inserted, and are but subservient to those here expressed) are purposely omitted.

Yet the Earle of Manchester is as active in his Association as the West in theirs. his Lordship having gone over all with so high a hand, that now he is come to the University of Cambridge, being not fully resolved whether Colleges and Halls be within his Commission for Sequestrations. For clearing whereof the two pretended Houses have sent out an Ordinance on Monday last Jan 8. wherein 'tis ordained, that the Estates Rents and Revenues of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Cambridge are in no wise to be seized on, but shall remaine and be to the same University, Colleges, and Halls as if the Ordinance for Sequestrations had never beene made. Which is most nobly done like true Patrons of learning. But within two lines there is a small proviso, That if any part, portion, or Dividend, be due to any Head, Fellow, or Scholar of the said University, being, or which hereafter shall be a Malignant or Delinquent within any of the Ordinances for Sequestration; That such Head, Fellow, or Scholar shall be excepted from receiving any part or portion of his Allowance, but shall be dealt with as shall be ordered by Edward Earle of Manchester, and none to be Receiver, Treasurer, or Bursar, but such as shall be approved by the said Earle of Manchester. And this Ordinance is called in print by Civilians the perpetuall honour and goodnesse of Parliaments, which perpetuall honour and goodnesse it were to be wished the Members would keepe to themselves, and leave the University out of their Protection; There's reason enough in this Ordinance to wish it so.

FRIDAY. Jan. 12.

But this day affordeth us the best newes of the weeke, for by an expresse from Newmarke we were this morning certified, That



That on Saturday night last Sir *Richard Byron* (Governour of *Newark*) understanding the Rebels were quartered at *Harmyston* and *Waddesden* 3 miles from *Lincolne*, sent out 250 Horse and some *Dragooners* under the command of Sir *Gervase Eys* to beat up their quarters; which accordingly was performed with much discretion and courage, for they fell upon the Rebels so gallantly, that they tooke betwixt 3 and 400 prisoners, 1 Sergeant Major of horse, 3 Captaines, 3 Lieutenants, 3 Colonels, with divers other inferiour Officers, and above 300 Troopers, with their Horses and Armes; these were of *Oliver Cromwell's* best Horse, which were brought safe into *Newark* upon Sunday morning last.

And this day also came out in Print. His Majesties Declaration to all His Subjects of his Kingdome of *Scotland*, upon occasion to a printed paper, entituled [ *The Declaration of the Kingdome of Scotland concerning the present expedition into England, &c.* ] with His Majesties Message to the Lords of his Privy-Councell of *Scotland* in Decemb. 1642. and the severall papers presented to His Majesty by the Scottish Committee at *Oxford* in February last, with His Majesties severall answers to them all. Which whosoever shall peruse, will wonder there are any such people in the world, as those Scots that now take armes again<sup>t</sup> His Sacred Majesty, whom they can accuse of nothing but that he is too good to be their King.

And the *English* Rebels have such a longing to be undone, that they tell all the world (nay they tell it to God Almighty too) that the Scots are at *Newcastle* before they are in *England*. For on Sunday last January 7. some of the good Londoners had a solemne *Thanksgiving* (if any thing they do can be solemne) for the happy entrance of their Brethren into *England*; which hath swolne them up to so much confidence; that yesterday by all means they would needs feast his Excellency at *Apothecaries Hall*; which is not sufficient (for one Feast begets another) but the whole Citie must feast him again at *Guild-hall* this next week, concerning which their thoughts are now busied, as a necessary attendant on their Reformation.



The *Members* being thus confident, begin now to spare wilfull waste because all will be theirs, and therefore made an Ordinance on Tuesday last, that the *Houses of Delinquents* or ill-affected persons shall not be pulled downe or destroyed, but reserved for the benefit and use of the *Common-wealth*, they being the *Houses of the Common-wealth* and not of *Delinquents*, and accordingly to be preserved as they will yeild most profit and advantage to it; 'tis very well, if their owne two Houses will stand for ever, but it may be thought on, that some of the chiefe pillars have lately failed, and the rest perhaps are not eternall.

And as all by Land is theirs, so is all by Sea; in whose right the Earle of *Warwicke* hath kept two yeares possession; insomuch that one of their pretty Bookes, in his Intelligence for this Week, sayes, Two of those *Skippes* which are commonly called the *KINGS Ships*, are going to relieve *Plymouth*, (commonly called) the *Kings Shippes*; why tell us another name, that hereafter we may know which are the *Houses* and which are the *Clofe Committees* shippes, lest happily we miscall them by his name who built them.

But they thinke all immovable, since what they doe shall passe the *Great Scale*, though that *Scale* be but counterfeit. In prosecution whereof there was a *Scale* in the *QUEENS* Court the fifth of this Moneth, whereof Master *Whice* the Lawyer had the first motion, and Master *Heron* the second.

Nay, his Excellency himselve (to helpe all forward) entored the House of the pretended *Lords*, and there made an excellent Speech the same day he sent his Letter to Master *William Lenthall*, and what should it be, but an earnest motion that all *Delinquents* might be brought to tryall; wherein he was seconded by *William Fiennes* (late Viscount *Say*) who spake freely to the Motion, because his Sonne *Nathaniel* is passed his condemnation, and (for his Fathers sake) is shipped away beyond the Seas with the *Members* License. But next weeke you'll heare of another sort of *Members* (those noble Peeres, Knights, and Burgeses daily halting hither) whose loyalrie stands unble-mished, as will better appeare the 22<sup>th</sup> of this Moneth.

The

The *Londoners* in Print still keep up their measure, and (besides those old Lyes, some whereof have beene 50 times answered) they tell us, 1. *That the Towne of Newcastle is certainly taken by the Scots, but the manner of taking it is not yet knowne.* (nay, tell us how it is taken, or you say nothing.) 2. *That a Troop of Horse from Northampton hath taken Generall Ruthen Prisoner, and killed his Serjeant Major,* (My Lord Generali taken Prisoner by one Troop of Horse 20 miles from the Army? 'tis very handsome.) 3. *That on Friday, Jan. 13: Sir Richard Lloyd and Colonnell Ellis were beaten off from Wrexham in Flintshire by the Parliaments forces,* (you should date your Lye better, there's no such Friday in January.) 4. *That in the Province of Wales there are above 30000 English, Scottish, and Brittish Protestants, who have not consented to the Cessation;* (Here you call them Brittish Protestants, but in His Majesties Army Heathenish Welch.) 5. *That Newarke is closely besiedged by the Parliaments forces, under Sir Thomas Fairfax and Sir John Meldrum,* (this Lye cost Cromwell 300 of his best Horse.) 6. *That Sir William Waller took 1200 Prisoners at Arundell House.* (we allow you twice as much as truth, but foure times the number is intollerable.) 7. *That Sir John Gell took three of the Duke of YORKES Colours in Derbyshire,* (you have better intelligence then Sir John himselfe, for he knowes of no such Colours. 8. *That one of these Colours had the Effigies of a Tree, signifying the Protestant Religion, and a Cavalier standing at the root of it to cut it downe, with this Motto. ROOT AND BRANCH;* (that Cavalier was painted with very short haire.) 9. *That many Lords at Oxford are displeased, because their Councels cannot be heard for the Irish Faction;* (An Irish Faction also? what Faction will benext?) 10. *That because of this Faction some Lords are already returned to the Parliament,* (Do not boast of my Lord of Bedford and Holland, till you know how long they'll stay with you.) 11. *That Prince ROBERT intends to goe to Bristol, where he meanes to take shipping and quite forsake England.* 12. And another says. *Prince ROBERT will never leave His MAJESTIE, till he hath made himselfe King of England;* (sic, what unsofiable Lyes are these two) 13. *That*

the Cavaliers have broke Whately Bridge, so as there is no passage over it but upon planks, (yes, your worship may ride over it in a Cart.) 14. That Colonell Browne, Serjeant Major Generall of the London forces, went with his Regiments to Croydon, where many of the Basing Cavaliers came and tendered their service to him, (No, they tendered their service to Sir William Waller.) 15. That the Court at Oxford is furnished with excuses by a company of corrupt Lawyers, (speake well of the Lawyers, some of them are Judge.) 16. That when Colonell Norton was lately met by my Lord Hopton, The Colonell lost but three men, (he lost three Troopes, in which it seemes there were but three men.) 17. That at Evesham in Worcestershire Colonell Washington is taken Prisoner, being sore wounded, (looke well to him, for the Colonell cares for no wounds.) 18. That the cruell Cavaliers are all like to perish as the warlike Egyptians were drowned in the heat of their Rebellion, (Remember your Brethren in the Boat at Braunsford.) 19. That the Parliament forces have had so many Victories and Successes, that they may now sing solemn Hymnes of Thanksgiving; (you have pulled downe the Organs, and have most hideous voyces.) 20. That there will be a speedy course taken for constant paying of His Excellencies, the Earle of Manchester, and Sir William Wallers Armies, so as the Countiees will be much eased, (yes, the Country will be much eased, by constant paying of three Rebellious Armies.) 21. That Sir Thomas Fairfax is gone with 24 Troopes of Horse to relieve Sir William Brereton. 22. Another sayes, Sir Thomas Fairfax is at Leicester to convey the Ammunition safe into Gloucester, 23. And a third sayes, That Sir Thomas Fairfax is at this present besiedging Newwarke, (you Three must be resolved upon the Question, before I answer.) 24. That Sir William Brereton this last weeke routed all the English Irish, and took above 900 Prisoners neare Namptwich; (these Prisoners have a longing desire to see Sir William in any part of Cheshire.) 25. That the King hath called a new Parliament at Oxford, which is a poore shift for the Cavaliers ULTIMUM VALE: If you can read and spell no better at the Assizes, you'll misse your Flitum Vale.



FINIS.

A

2

Sacred Panegyrick,  
OR A  
S E R M O N  
O F  
THANKS-GIVING,

Preached to the two Houses of *Parliament*, His  
Excellency the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord Major, Court  
of Aldermen, and Common Councill o<sup>r</sup> the City of  
L O N D O N, the Reverend Assembly of Divines, and  
Commissioners from the Church of *Scotland*.

Vpon occasion of their Solemn Feasting, to testifie  
their thankfullnes to God, and union and concord  
one with another, after so many Designes to di-  
vide them, and thereby ruine the Kingdome,  
*January 18. 1643.*

By *Stephen Marshall*, B. D. Minister of Gods Word  
at *Finching-field* in *Essex*.

*Published by Order of the Lords and Commons.*

P S A L M E 133. I.

*Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in unity.*  
Psalme 144 15. *Happy is that People that is in such a case: Yea, happy is*  
*that People, whose God is the Lord.*

*London*, Printed for *Stephen Bowtell*, and are to be sold at  
his Shop at the sign of the Bible in *Popes-head-alley*. 1644.

*January .24 1643*



1784



TO THE  
IGHT HONOURABLE  
he Lords and Commons Assembled

n Parliament; His Excellency the Earle of  
Essex, with the rest of the Noble and Worthy  
Commanders: The Right Honourable the  
Lord Major, the Court of Aldermen, and  
Common Councell of the City of London:

The Reverend Assembly of Divines: The  
Honourable and Reverend *Commissio-*  
*ners* from the Church of  
SCOTLAND.

**T**His worke was too high for me, but as its now done  
by so weake an hand, is too low, for so many judicious  
eyes with any favourable respect to look down to: But  
our own Children, though lesse beautifull, we can behold with  
care; and even stoope to take them by the hand, that wee may  
hold and lead them, that cannot goe or stand by themselves:  
such a weakling is this, that is now before you, the defects  
and weakneses whereof, I acknowledge are mine, but the  
tribe is Gods, and yours; to him I humbly present it, for  
his blessing; and to you, for your acceptance and helpe, that  
may better goe abroad; whilst all shall know, that it is  
ours more then mine, and therefore to bee disposed of rather



## The Epistle Dedicatory.

2 Cor. 4. 6.

Gen. 11.

Acts 2.

Ester 8. ult.

9. 1.

by you, then by my selfe. By your Command, ( for so I interpret all your requests to me ) it was Preached, and is now Published; and this with the more boldnesse, because with some confidence, that it will passe the better without others censure, because it hath already passed your scrutiny with allowance and acceptance. But whatever the lot of it in that kind shall be, it will be abundant satisfaction to me, if the main end be attained by it, which by you and me was intended in it; viz: the help of our selves and all, the more to adore the infinite wisdom, and power, and goodnesse of our God, who can make light to shine out of darknesse; discords intended by enemies, to make up our more harmonious consent, and divisions of tongues that scatter the builders of Babel, to help up the more compact building of his Church. Hee once turned the day of his peoples griefes and feares to the quite contrary, so that they had then joy and gladnesse, a Feast, and a good day, insomuch that many of the people of the Land became Jewes for the feare of the Jewes fell upon them. Now hee that hath wrought for us the like turne of things, be pleased in mercy to worke a greater turne in all our Enemies hearts, that so now and ever, our Lord Iesus may appeare to be the wonderfull Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, whilst thus, the Prince of his Peoples Peace: So prayeth,

His and Your most Unworthy Servant.

STEPHEN MARSHALL.





THE  
P R E F A C E  
to the Sermon.

**R**ight Honourable and Beloved in the Lord,  
this day is a day purposely set apart for feasting; and it is like one of the *Lords feasts*, Lev. 23. 2.  
where you have a feast and a holy Convocation: And you are first met here to feast your Esa. 25. 6.

*soules with the fat things of Gods house, with a feast of fat things full of marrow, and wine on the lees well refined: and after ward to feast your bodies, with the fat things of the land, and the sea, both plenty and dainty. But if you please you may first feast your eyes; doe but behold the face of this Assembly, I dare say it will be one of the excellentest feasts that ever your eyes were refreshed with: Here in this Assembly you may first see the two Houses of Parliament, the Honourable Lords and Commons, after thus many yeares wrastring with extreme difficulties, in their endeavouring to preserve an undone Kingdome, and to purge and reforme a back-sliding and a polluted Church, you may behold them still not only*  
B preserved

preserved from so many treacherous designs, secret treasons, and open violences, but as resolved as ever cheerfully to goe on with this great worke, which God hath put into their hands. Here you may also see *his Excellency* (my most honoured Lord) the Generall of all our forces by land; and neare him that other noble Lord, the Commander of our forces by Sea; and with them abundance of noble and resolute Commanders: 1. of them with their faces like unto Lions, who after, so many terrible battells, and abundance of difficulties, and charging in the face of so many thousand deaths, are all of them still preserved, and not a haire of their heads fallen to the ground. Here also you may behold the *Representative body of the City of London*, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, the Common Councill, the *Militia*, and in them the face and affection of this glorious City; *This City*, which under God hath hitherto had the honour of being the greatest meanes of the salvation of the whole kingdome; and after the expence of millions of treasure, and thousands of their lives, still as faithfull and resolute to live and die in the cause of God as ever heretofore. Here you may likewise see a *Reverend Assembly of grave and learned Divines*, who daily wait upon the Angel in the Mount, to receive from him the lively Oracles, and the patterne of Gods house, to present unto you. All these are of our *owne Nation*; and with them you may see the *Honourable, reverend, and learned Commissioners of the Church of Scotland*; and in them behold the wisdom and affection of their whole Church and Nation, willing to live and dye with us. All these you may behold in one view; and which is more, you may behold them all of *one heart*, and one minde, after so many plots and conspiracies

piracies to divide them one from another, and thereby  
 to ruine them all : And which is yet more, you may see  
 them all met together this day *on purpose*, both to praise  
 God for this union, and to rejoyce in it, and to hold it out  
 to all the world, and thereby to testifie, that as one man  
 they will live and dye together in this common cause  
 of God, of our Lord Iesus Christ his Church, and these  
 three Kingdomes. O beloved ! how beautifull is the  
 face of this Assembly ? Verily I may say of it, as it was  
 said of *Solomons throne*, That the like was not to be seene in  
 any other Nation ; I question where ever the like Assem-  
 bly was seene this thousand yeeres upon the face of the  
 earth : Me thinkes I may call this Assembly *The bosse of* Gen. 32. 2. *a*  
*God* ; I could call this place *Mahanaim* ; and I beleieve  
 there are many in the Assembly who could say as old  
*Jacob* did, when he had seene his son *Josephs* face, *Let me*  
*now dye*, because I have seene this Assembly, and that it  
 is yet thus with our unworthy *England* : and for my  
 owne part, I professe I am almost like the *Queene of*  
*Sheba*, when she had seen the Court of *Solomon*, that she  
 had no spirit left in her, and could presently send you  
 away, and command all of you not to weepe so day, nor  
 to mourne, but to goe home, and eat the fat, and drinke the  
 sweet, and send portions to them for whom nothing is prepared ;  
 I should in the joy of my heart say this presently, but  
 that I have first some banqueting stufte for your soules,  
 such as God hath brought to my hand, to set before  
 you for your inward refreshing ; the ground whereof  
 you shall finde, if you please to turne to the first of the  
*Chronicles* the twelfth Chapt. and the three last verses.

1 Chron. 12. 38, 39, 40.

All these came with a perfect heart to Hebron, to make David King over all Israel; and all the rest also of Israel were of one heart to make David King:

And there they were with David three dayes, eating and drinking, for their brethren had prepared for them.

Moreover, they that were nigh them, even unto Issachar, and Zebulun, and Naphtali, brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, and meat, meale, cakes of figges, and bunches of raisins, and wine, and oyle, and sheep abundantly; for there was joy in Israel.

*Especially these  
last words.*

*Suitablenesse of  
the Text to the  
occasion.  
Pro. 25. 11.*

**I** Laboured to finde out a Text, which might every way be suitable to the occasion of this our present meeting, because *a word spoken in season is like apples of gold in pictures of silver*; a Sermon suited to the circumstance of time, place, persons, and occasion, is not onely more acceptable, but more usefull: And truly I thinke the Lord hath brought to hand one of the most paralell portions in the whole Bible; for if you please but to looke into it, and into the whole Chapter upon which this depends, you shall finde, First, they were doing the *same thing*, that is, *rejoicing abundantly*: Secondly, expressing their joy the *same way*, in *feasting, eating, and drinking*: Thirdly, you shall finde the *same* manner of persons, that is, the *heads of all their Tribes, the Nobles, the Commons, the Souldiery, the Ministry*; you shall find them, fourthly, met on the *like occasion*, because their hearts were united in one, and that in the way to obtaine a *blessed peace* to a kingdome, which had been long wasted with a Civill warre: Fifthly, you shall find also, that

that the persons who met here, were the same which had adhered to the *right side*, to the cause which God did own & blesse; and sixthly, who the longer their wars continued grew stronger & stronger, & their enemies grew weaker and weaker; you shall finde all these met upon the same occasion, upon a businesse of the *highest consequence*, all of them feasting; and seventhly, at the charge of *their brethren*, in whose precincts their solemn meeting was. Looke but into the chapter, and you'll see all these; Looke but into this Assembly, and you may behold them all in this Church. But it may bee you will say, We want a *David*, to make the paralell full; we want a *David* to bee with us, a *King* who might concurre with us, and we with him in the same busines; I confesse indeed, that in the *literall* sense God hath not yet made us so blessed, the Sonnes of *Belial* have stollen away both his Majesties Person, and affection from us, but even that is the thing which we contend for, that we might recover him out of their hands; the expence of all our treasure, and all our blood hath bin to that end that he might have the wicked removed from his throne, that as another *David*, *hee might rule over us in the feare of God, that hee might be as the light of the morning when the Sun ariseth, even a morning without clouds*: And as we have in our Covenant solemnly sworne (so much as in us lies) to preserve and maintain his person and authority, in the defence of Libertie and Religion, so if God have any delight in him, and to doe us good by him, hee will in the end incline his heart unto such Counsels, that hee shall come home, and make this paralell full, and even bee the light of our Israel, and the breath of our Nostrills: But in the meane time, wee doe not want a *David* to suite



this David in the Text, we have here the *true David*, of whom that *David* was in this very thing a Type, *that is, the Lord Jesus Christ*, whom wee are endeavouring to set upon his throne, that hee might bee Lord and King in his Israel, over his Church, amongst us: And as Davids person, and Kingdome, were but types of our Lord Christ and his Kingdome; so this great joy and unanimity of heart, which met in all these at Davids Coronation in *Hebron*, was but a type of that rejoycing and gladnesse of heart, which should be among the Nations, when there should bee the like concurrence of the Nobles, and Commons, and Princes, and Ministers, and Citizens, with one heart, to set up the Lord Christ, to be Lord and King over them: All Learned Men know this to be true, and therefore by this time I beleeve, you see that my Text is most suitable to our Meeting, and withall the scope of it so plaine before you, that I need not spend any more time in the clearing of it, but shall hasten to some matter of Instruction; Because (though I conceive your Feast for your bodies will bee long) I would not willingly make the Sermon so long, as to have it tedious to you; and before I come to the maine Lesson which I shall insist upon, I would intreat you to looke a little back into the whole Chapter, where you will find Davids case, and our present condition, in many things to be exceedingly alike, and in it find much to incourage and comfort you in your saddest exigence; be pleased when you are at home to read over this Chapter seriously, & you will find such observations as these: First, *That David when hee was persecuted by Saul unjustly, did not onely take up Armes for his owne defence, but many of the choicest men of the Tribes did joyne with him, and adventure their lives in his defence; yea, and his Adherents increased,*

*Some generall  
Observations  
out of this  
whole Chapter.*

*Vers. 1. to 23.*

increased, till his Army grew to be like an Host of God; and all this while King Saul was alive, and David but a private man, and one that had sworne Allegiance to him:

You will in this Chapter find also, that although David and his adherents in the defence of his innocent righteous Cause, were oftentimes brought very low, to a dead low ebbe, yet in the end, God brought all about againe; and Davids party grew stronger and stronger, and their malignant Enemies grew weaker and weaker.

You will find also in this Chapter, That such as did adhere to David in his low condition, (when the Lord had tryed and humbled them all) found to their comfort in the end, that they were no losers by it; They afterwards being made his worthies, his Counsellors, and Princes.

And this, That in the end God open'd the eyes of many of those who were most malignant and opposite, not only to see the righteousness of Davids Cause, but their hearts came cordially to joyn with him.

And this also, that among all the Nobles, & Princes, & Rulers, and Leaders; the more godly, the more wise, the more cordiall any were to Davids Cause, the greater power they had, and the more their brethren were at their command.

This also you will find, that no cost, danger, pains or difficulties, were ever stuck at by them whose hearts were rightly affected to Davids Cause.

And this also you may observe, That God gave to Davids helpers such courage and strength, that oftentimes ten of them could chase a thousand: & an hundred put ten thousand to flight.

These, & many more such things as these (which would be very profitable for our meditation, in these our distressed times) you may find in reading this Chapter; but I am resolved to confine my selfe to two Observations; the one shall be from that, which was the matter of their joy

17, 18, 19,  
20, &c.

Compare the  
first part of this  
Chapter, with  
2 Sam. 23. 8.  
ad finem.

Verse 29.  
Verse 32.

Ver. 15. 20.  
&c.

This Chapter  
compar'd with  
2 Sam. 23.

joy at this time; the other from the manner of expressing their joy; The manner of their joy, you have in these words, *that they were of one heart, and one mind, to set David to be their King*; The manner of expressing their joy was this, *they were eating, and drinking, and feasting, at the cost of all the Tribes in whose precincts their meeting was*; Those of Zebulon, and Naphtali, and Issachar, did in abundance expend their Oxen, and Sheepe, and Wine, and Oile, and all the delicacies, to refresh their Brethren; for the Army was I thinke no lesse then two or three hundred thousand of them, who upon this occasion were come together: from these two, I shall endeavour to handle these two Lessons. The first is,

Obs. 1.  
The maine  
Doctrine.  
No greater  
matter of joy  
to any people,  
then to find a  
concurrence of  
hearts, to set up  
David to bee  
their King.

2.

Explained in  
two Branches.

That it is the greatest matter and cause of joy that can bee to any People, to find a concurrence of Nobles, and Commons, and Souldiers, and Citizens, and Divines, to set up David for their King; such an union and concurrence is a matter of the greatest joy in all the World. Secondly,

That this joy springing from such a concurrence to set up David to bee their King, may very lawfully, and comely be express'd in feasting, eating, and drinking.

I begin with the first of these, *That it is a matter of the greatest joy in all the world, that can bee to any people, to finde such a concurrence as there was in this Chapter, to set up David to be their King*: Where first we must inquire, what is here intended by setting up David to bee their King: Know therfore (beloved) that David is to be considered two wayes, he stands in a two-fold relation, even in this his Coronation: The first is Typicall; the second is Politicall; Typicall, and so David is Christ: Politicall, and so David is intended by God to be the pattern of a good King, the patterne and the Copy that all true Kings should write after; and both these are so plaine, I dare say I might

might give you twenty severall places of Scripture for proof of both the branches: First, David was a type of Christ; Christ is ordinarily called David; you will not find any one person (who was a type of Christ) by whose name Christ is expressly called in his kingly office but only David. I will give them David their King, upon the throne of David he shall sit: so David, in the typical relation, is Christ. Then in the political relation, the Lord intended him the pattern of a good King, and therefore you shall finde that all the Kings that for foure or five hundred yeares did succede in Israel and Judah, when the Lord came to give any one their testimony, who they were, how neare they came to the Standard, this is the rule by which hee judged of them: Such an one walked in the way of David; such an one did that which was right in Gods sight as David; such an one did well; but not with such a heart as David; such an one walked not in the wayes of David; such an ones heart was not like unto Davids: so that David was in all intended by God to be the pattern of a good King.

Now this first Lesson thus opened, I must therefore divide into two branches: the first is, That there can be no greater wisdome of joy and rejoicing to any people in the world, then to finde a concurrence of hearts in the Nobles, and Princes, and Souldiers, and Ministers, and the heads of their Tribes, to set up the Lord Jesus Christ to be the King of the Church among them: that shall be the first. The second is this, That there can be no greater joy to a nation for anything that concerns this present life, then to finde concurrence of hearts in these Nobles, and those that are named in the chapter to set up a David: that is, to have the Prince that should rule over them succede David. In these two things (God willing) I shall spend the most of his time, the other part of the Text I shall only point at.

For the first, That to finde such a concurrence to set up the Lord Christ to be King, is a matter of the greatest joy and rejoicing in the world: You may see it, first, in the Type: Secondly, in Gods promise: Thirdly, in the Churches performance. First, you shall see it in the Type, in David bringing up the Ark, 2 Sam. 6. 12. first, he called all his Parliament together and the Convocation of the Ministers also, and there they consulted to go and bring up the Ark of God from Kirjath-jearim (which Ark of God was a Type of the Lord Jesus Christ) they all agree to bring it up to set it in his owne place, in a better state then formerly it had been, for the glory of it, and the

Ezek. 34. 23:

37: 24.

Ezra 9. 67:

55: 31

Ier. 30. 9:

Psal. 8. 9:

1 King 14. 8:

2 King. 14. 3:

18. 25: 1

18. 3:

22. 2:

15. 3. 11:

2 Ch. 28.

29. 2:

34. 2:

First David is Christ, and hence,

The greatest joy to any Nation, to find a concurrence to set up the Kingdom of Christ.

Printed by the type.

2 Sam. 8. 13

ad finem:

welfare of the Church : Now when they concurred in this action, you shall finde that *David and all the house of Israel* plaid before the Lord on all manner of instrument, on Harpe and Psalteries, on Timbrels and on Cornets and on Cimbals, with shouting and sound of Trumpets, and the King himselfe being cloathed with a linnen Ephod danced with all his might, and gloried in his dancing, though we know *Mitchael* his wife despised him for it, as if he had played the foole; and all this because they so well agreed in bringing the Arke, and setting it up in his place, in the Tabernacle that *David* had pitched for it, which was nothing in effect, but the setting up the Lord *Iesus Christ*, both God and man, to be acknowledged as Lord and King in the midst of the Church. So likewise when *Solomon* had builded the Temple, in 1 King. 8. when the Arke was to be set upon the Table in the holy of holiest, which was properly the type of setting the Lord *Iesus Christ* upon the throne of *Majesty* on high, at the right hand of God, and so to be Lord and Ruler over the Church, when there was a concurrence of the Princes and Nobles, who joined with him to doe this, there was such a holy feast made, that *Solomon* for his share spent twenty thousand Oxen and a matter of an hundred and twenty thousand sheep in sacrifices: and after all this holy feasting upon sacrifices, *hee and all Israel with him* held a feast, from the entering in of *Hamath* unto the river of *Egypt* before the Lord, seven daies, and even daies, even fourteen daies, and then all the people departed home to their houses, joyfull and glad of heart for all this goodnesse of the Lord *Iehovah*, in giving them the Lord *Iesus Christ* to reigne over them. See this likewise promised that it should and ought to be so: and for this though I might name many Scriptures, I will satisfie my selfe with two: the one is in the ninth of *Esay* and the beginning of it. The Lord there spake of a very sad affliction which the church should lie under, very uncomfortable times they should live in, but yet hee saith that there should be joy, they should joy before him like the joy in harvest, and as men rejoyce who divide a spoile. You all know that Souldiers when they are sacking a rich Town, every one filling not onely their Knapacks, but loading their horses and wag-gons with rich spoile: and countrey-men when they have gathered in all their harvest, if ever they are merry it is then: Now the Lord promifeth such a joy to his afflicted Church, which should bee like the joy of harvest, and the dividing the spoile

1 King 8:

By Gods pro-  
mise that it  
should be so.

Esay 9:3:6 7,



the Spoile upon what occasion was that think you? You shall find at the 6. verse, *or nota m. a Child is borne, to us a Son is given, on whose Shoulders the Government shall be laid, who shall be set upon the Throne of David his Father; so order and rule is;* that is, the Lord Jesus Christ shall be exalted to be their King, and then shall the People joy before him, like the joy in harvest, so likewise in the 9. of *Zachary* ver. 9. rejoice greatly O Daughters of Zion shout for joy O Daughter of Jerusalem; what is the matter? *Behold thy King cometh to thee,* and if you mark it, when Christ first came to them in that place, he came *poore and mecke, riding upon an Ass,* yea, to be *hang'd upon the Crosse* to be crucified; but yet afterward it followes, *that his Dominion should be from Sea to Sea, and from the River to the end of the Earth;* This entertaining of Christ their King, should make them reioyce greatly, and shout for joy. See also one or two evidences for the performance of it, what infinite joy there hath bin at the setting of Christ on his throne: In *Act. 8.* when the City of *Samarita* (which before had been besotted with superstition and Idolatry, and all kind of beastlines of that kind) upon *Philips* preaching Jesus Christ among them, had submitted to him, and received him for Lord and King it is said, there was great joy throughout the City; but especially out of the book of *Revelation.* I could give you many evidences, bepleased to turne to one only, Chapter 19. from the first verse to the eight, where you will find a Panegyrick celebrated with great joy, by a great multitude of people, a great voice from the throne calling upon them to praïsing and reioicing, and all this great multitude cryed Hallelujah, Salvation, glory and honour unto the Lord our God, let us reioice and be glad; and again they said Hallelujah, and again & again Hallelujah making it the foot of the Song; what was the occasions wherby the Lamb was to be married, and his wife had made her selfe ready, the new Ierusalem was comming down from Heaven; Jew and Gentile to be made one Church: Antichrist the Beast and fals-Propheet to be destroyed, and Christ Jesus to bee gladly received as Lord and King: *For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.*

*Zach. 9. 9:*

*Math. 21. 5:*

*By experiences  
showing it both  
being 1. 3.  
Act. 8. 8.*

*Rev. 4. per 1. 2:  
7. 9. &c. 11,  
15. 15. 2:*

But to make it yet more plaine, you know that joy is, *acquiescentia voluntatis in bono sibi congruente*, a pleasure or delight from some good thing we possesse or certainly expect, which breeds satisfaction in the will and pleasure in the sensitive soule. upon the delating the heart in the breast, when the object and facul-

*Ladovens vi-  
des.*

ty suits one another, as the Cup and Cover; which while it is only contemplated or meditated upon, is as if a fort made perfect, and accordingly the soule united unto it, or while expected upon strong and unerring grounds, the soule comfortably and cheerfully works for the accomplishment of our desire, but when it's possessed the good really present and united to it, when we have it face to face, then is the heart satisfied indeed. Now I shall shew you (God willing) that the setting up of Jesus Christ after their manner, is the most excellent, suitable, congruous good, that which will and may most satisfie and dilate the heart of any thing else whatever.

And to this I shall demonstrate these two things:

First, that the setting up of Christ to bee King is the greatest, the most desirable good that ever can betide any Nation.

Secondly, that the concurrence of the Nobles and Commons, and Souldiers, and Ministers, and Citizens to this work, their concurrence I say in this worke, is the most glorious, the most aimable, the most desirable means of attaining this great good that any soule can wish; and if both these be manifested, that the one is the greatest, and the other the most desirable means to attain it; where these two things meet there must needs be matter of great joy.

Because Christ's  
government is  
the greatest  
good to any  
Nations being

For proofe of the first, I desire you but to compare it with all those things which make any Nation happy in their Prince or Government, and I doubt not but you will see, that the sitting up of Christ to bee King, doth infinitely goe beyond them all; And in this comparison I will confine my selfe to foure things.

The greatest  
honour to a  
people:

The glory and honour that cometh to that Nation, where Christ is set up to be their Lord and King: the glory that thereby comes to a Nation, you know is the thing which maketh a people reioice in their King, when their King is an Ornament to them: The Kingdomes and Princes who liv'd round about Solomon; accounted it no dishonour to them, to be Solomons Tributaries and Servants; because he was such an accomplishe excellent man: Hiram the wealthy King of Tyre wrote a Letter to him, wherein he calls himself his Servant, and saith, because the Lord loved his People, he set up thee to bee King over them. To have a King who is such a glory to a Nation, that (when any of the People shall bee named in any forraigne place) the strangers

gers shall say: O they are happy in their Prince. Or as the Queene of Sheba  
of Othman and his People, happy are they now, happy are they, thy Subjects  
and Servants, which stand continually before thee, because God loveth Israel: so  
shall he him for ever, that ere made be thee King over them: this is a glory to  
a Nation.

2 Chron.  
9.7.8

Now thinke I beseech you, whether there can bee any glory like to  
that to have the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity made  
man, now exalted to the Throne of Majesties on High, to whom the  
Angels and Archangels, and all the host of Heaven doe stoop, and all  
the Creatures did bow the knee before him; whether (I say) can there be  
any glory to a people like unto this, to have this Lord Christ set up to be  
their King.

1. Consider the advantage that cometh to a State and people go-  
verned by him, the infinite gaine and happiness of all his Subjects un-  
der him, David bid them all people for Saint, because hee clothed them all  
in scarlet, with other delights and for Ornament of gold upon them, they might  
grow rich under him. But let mee tell you, it is only the Lord Jesus  
Christ and his Government, that maketh a Nation or a People, furni-  
shed with an all-sufficiency of all things. As

2 Bring-  
ing all  
advanta-  
ges to his  
Subjects,  
2 Sam 1,  
24.

First, in the things of this life: Christ hath all things delivered into  
his hands, the Father hath given them all up unto him, and hee giveth  
them to whom he pleaseth, and his Kingdom hath the promise of this  
life as well as that which is to come.

1 For this  
present  
life.

So that if Gold, or Silver, or Wealth, or ease, or pleasure, or liberty,  
or any of these things bee good for them, the Subjects of Christ must  
needs enjoy it from their beloved King: but these are scarce worth the  
naming. The Glory of Christs Government to his People stands in  
this, that he maketh their souls their best part, their Spirituall part, their  
Everuall part, he maketh their soules lay, infinitely happy in being a  
King over them, which no other Government reacheth to, no not in  
any degree further then it is in subordination to Christ, and endeth in  
him, but now where Christ is set up to be King, he giveth his Subjects  
such things as these:

2 And as  
bove all  
for their  
soules  
here and  
for ever.

The pardon and forgiveness of all their finnes; the blood of Jesus  
Christ their King, wherein they are all washed, cleanseth them from  
all their finnes, so that not a man of them shall ever be called to an ac-  
count before God, for any thing they have done against him. He ma-  
keth all of them righteous, the Lord saith to him, thy people shall be all  
righteous. He doth adopt them all to be His children, all His Subjects  
are His children, yea coheires; yea they are all His brethren, they may all

John 1.7  
Rom. 1.5  
Eph. 6.0  
21:  
Rom. 8:  
14:15  
16:19  
Heb. 2:

enjoy 12.

1 Iohn 1. enjoy communion with his Father, and with himselfe. and with his holy  
 3 Spirit; all his Kingdome is his Court, all his subjects his Courtiers,  
 Rev. 1. 6. they may all as his Favourite stand before him, and see his face, they  
 5. 10: may all present their supplications to him for themselves and others  
 Rev. 22. with assurance to be heard and answered in all things according to his  
 5: will: in one word, he is such a King who maketh all his Subjects to be  
 1 Iohn. 5: Kings; there is not one of all those where he is set up to be Lord and  
 14: King over; but he maketh them all to be Kings and Priests to God his  
 Father: It is in *ferri*, in beginning and degree here in this world, but after-  
 wards shall to all eternity bee manifested and made good of them all  
 in the highest heavens; where when they have overcome, they shall sit  
 Re. 3. 21. down with him on his throne, as hee hath sat down upon his Fathers  
 Throne. Now (brethren) so farre as the soule is more excellent  
 then the body, so farre as heaven is above earth, as grace is above  
 gold and silver, or drosse, as eternity is above a moment, so much more  
 excellent are the advantages that Christ Jesus giveth to his subjects,  
 then any that can be received from any other Prince in the world:  
 now the happinesse of the soule is so excellent, and so desirable to all  
 men, that you know, that the very heathen by the light of nature did  
 account this the greatest happinesse of all to any state, to have Religion  
 set up, which was for their soules happinesse as they conceived. It  
 is observable, that you can hardly meet with one Philosopher or any  
 one Law-giver among all the Heathen, who did not make Religion  
 (which was for the worship of their gods, and the welfare of their soules)  
 to be the prime worke of all: yea, so sacred a thing it was among them,  
 that *cul-us deorum*, the worship of their gods, was the principall care and  
 charge of their Princes, who therefore were their chiefe Priests: and  
 that so universally, as *Tullie* saith there is no Nation so barbarous but  
 you will finde Religion chiefly regarded: and *Plutarch* writing to an  
 Atheist, tells him that possibly he may finde some Cities without learn-  
 ing and some without wealth, and some without a well framed Go-  
 vernment, but should never finde any without Temples, Altars, the  
 worship of their gods, and consequently of the care of their soules wel-  
 fare. True it is indeed, these poore blind wretches groped after the  
 welfare of their soules to no purpose, because they knew not God, but  
 worship't Devills instead of God: but yet thus much wee learne from  
 it, that in their judgments which can procure the eternall happinesse of  
 mans immortall soule, is the greatest gaine the greatest advantage of all  
 other; and therefore because the setting up of Jesus Christ to be Lord &  
 King, is al sufficient for this: what greater good can come to any people.  
 A third priviledge of Christs being set up as King, is the safety of his

Socrates,  
 Plato,  
 Plutarch,  
 Cicero,  
 &c:  
 Minor  
 Zalmicus  
 Solomon nu-  
 m. &c.  
 Cicero li:  
 1. quin  
 Tullius, et  
 de natura  
 deorum  
 lib: 1.  
 Plutarch  
 adversus  
 colorem:

3 Safety  
 from  
 enemies.



his people; let a Prince be never so wise, so good & loving to his subjects; let them be never so happy in him, yet if they want power to defend his Kingdome from violence of other States, both he and they may soon prove miserable; as we see in all the flourishing Empires of the World in times past, another Prince hath violently come and spoiled all: But now where the Lord Christ is set up to bee a King: I need not in this Assembly tell you what strength they have, *salvation is prepared for walls and bulwarks*, he himselfe is a wall of fire round about, so that no enemies shall dare come nigh to them: there enemies have none of them any power but what Christ himselfe hath given them. *All power is his both in heaven and in the earth*, if he speake but the word, all his enemies are overthrown, *let God arise* (speaking of Christ) *† sal. 68. let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered, they fly as the dust before the wind, as the wax before the fire, as stubble before the flame*, so doe his enemies fall if Christ will but appeare against them. In one word, by him were all things Created, by him they are upheld, and subject, and all things disposed of according to his pleasure; and therefore under his shadow, under his protection they may quietly rest, and none can hurt them.

And lastly, adde one more, that this King lives for ever, and reignes for ever; make him once a King over a people, and hee will ever bee a King; They who are once his Subjects, will ever be his Subjects; yea, and while they are under his government, his government shall grow more glorious, more victorious; *of the increase of his Government and Peace, there shall be no end, he shall sit upon the Throne of David his Father, to order it, and establish it; the Lord hath spoken it, and it must be so.*

I hope this is now cleere, that the setting up of Christ to bee Lord and King, is the greatest happiness that can befall any Nation.

The second is, that such a concurrence to find Princes, Nobles, Captaines, &c. (for all these are in my Text) to find the heads of all the Tribes thus concurring to doe it, is the most glorious, amiable and desirable means for effecting this work, which to make plaine, I beseech you to consider it two ways.

First, looke upon it, as it is *signum*, what this concurrence holdeth forth as its a signe.

Secondly, as *causa* look upon in that which it *worketh* for the effecting of it.

First, as it is a signe, and so it expresseth, first the greatest love and favour of God to that people: never did the Lord from Heaven expresse to any Nation, a greater token of his owning that Nation and People, then when he maketh such a concurrence in their Princes, and Nobles, and

Esa: 26.

Zach: 2:

5:

Iohn 19,

11:

Mat: 28,

Psal, 68,

1:

Col: 1: 16:

17:

4

Persuad

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2 Concur

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1 As such

a concu

rence is a

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Gods

love to

that peo

ple:

and Leaders, to set up the Lord Christ to be their King; as God in the Prophecie of *Jeremiah* and *Zephaniah*; that he would them one heart and one way, all of them should agree in one to serve him & submit to him with one consent.

This made *David* so ravished in his spirit, when there was such a union and unanimity in his Princes and Nobles, to come with in preparing for the Temple; *Heb. 1. 1. Lord? and who is my people, that should be able to offer this willingly after this sort, how have ye O Lord, we thank and bless thy, which is Name for us, and in great there, as one of the greatest pledges of Gods accepting them, that there should be such concurrence in such a work.*

Secondly, it is also the greatest signe that can be of a peoples love to Christ, and of the greatest glory which they can possibly put upon him to be such a willing people to set him up upon his Throne. This was promited as the great glory of Christs Kingdom; that Kings and Princes should bring his Children upon their shoulders; that they should bring their own glory, and lay it in another's steps at his feet; be nursing Fathers unto his Church; that whole Nations should flow in unto him; and certainly its the greatest expression they can make, and the greatest glory which the Lord can receive from poor men, to have the Heads of a people thus oind to set up Christ upon his Throne. It was much more glorious to *David* to be crowned after this manner, then to have conquered them by his Sword, and for *Saul* to have all the Kings about him to offer themselves to be his Servants, out of that inward reverence and love they bore unto him, then to have subdued them as *Isaiah* did the Kings of *Canaan*; and even so it here, its a great exaltation of Christs glory to find whole States thus willing to submit unto him.

Thus it doth it as *ferum*. I Look upon it as *cause*, as it works towards the effecting of it: Nothing which men can doe carryes such an energie as this joynt consent doth, and that 3. several wayes.

First such a publique concurrence of all these, a marvellous engagement of that people to adhere to the Lord without sliding back.

When *David* had *sworne* unto the Lord, to find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of *Jacob*, he would give us *steps* to his eye, no *number* to his eye. *1. 1. 1.* *unlike* hee had done what he could to effect it.



So when they have sworne a Covenant, and their Princes and Rulers, and all of them joyn together with such an unanimous consent, it averreth & holdeth out to the world their full and unchang'd resolution to spend, and to be spent, and to do all that ever they are able for the promoting of this worke: Now this ingaging of a Nation to the Lord is an infinite meanes of effecting it, and ingatheth the Lord to sware to them, as he did to *David* in the like case. *Psal. 132. 11.*

Secondly, this concurrence in the Princes and Leaders of the people is a marvelous meanes to draw all the people on as one man without any opposition, when they that are their Leaders doe thus goe before them, there is a notable example in this Text of the Tribe of *Issachar*. v. 32. of the rest of the tribes it's said how many there came: of some Tribes 10. thousand, of some 20. thousand, of some 40. thousand: but of the Tribe of *Issachar*, it is not said how many came, but only 200. that were the Leaders and Lords of that Tribe with perfect heart, and the Text addeth, *all their Brethren were at their command*, all the whole Tribe; If the Tribe of *Issachar* were 40. 50. 100. thousand, set but the 200. Leaders right, and they cary all the rest right infallibly whether they will or no: And you all know by experience the infinite power Leaders have to cary the people to any thing, be it good or evil: *Jeroboam* and his Princes may lead the people to worship golden calves, *Josh* and his Princes may draw the people to forsake God: And againe *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiel*, *Iosiah*, and their Princes and Rulers may draw the people of the Lord into a Covenant to serve the Lord. That is the second way to effect it, by leading the people to submit unto Christ also.

*1 Kings 12. 28.*  
*2 Chron. 23. 28.*

Thirdly, this vnity and concurrence of heart and spirit, doth infinitely daunt and dampe the spirit of their Enemies who would hinder the worke, neither is any thing such a terrour to those that would destroy and hinder the setting up of Christ, as to see an vnity and concurrence of heart and hand of those that are the prime leading men to carie on the worke: This is notably set forth in the Booke of *Nehemiah*, when *Tobias* and *Sambath* it, and the rest of them had tried all their wits to deuide and scare them,

*Nehemiah 6.*

and yet saw, they went on with the worke, that they would build, though they built with the sword in one hand and a Trewell in the other, and though they wrought both night and day, and that some slept whilst others waked, and on they would goe the Rulers and Heads being the forwardest of all, when the enimie saw that, the Text saith, *they were extreimly cast downe, because they saw the worke was wrought by the hand of God*: So that enemies faile in their spirits, when they see without changing the Nobles and Leaders are resolutely set to carie on this worke, *That Christ shall be set up for Lord and King.*

And thus Beloved I have cleared the first Branch of this observati-  
on: That the greatest joy that can be to any people is to see such a  
concurrence of heart, to have the Lord Christ set vp for Lord & King.

*For the Application of it I shall insift only upon two things.*

*Vse 1.  
Of thankgi-  
ving: this being  
our present  
condition.*

First, what infinite cause have all wee that are here gathered to-  
gether, to blesse the Lord for *this day, for this very day*, and all these  
dayes wherein we now live: I confesse Beloved, I discern there are  
very many with whom you shall never talke, but they are complain-  
ing of the miserablenesse of our dayes, *ob the times are miserable* what  
glorious times had we three or four yeares, or five or seaven yeares  
agoe, for then they had *trading, plenty, and ease*, and every one could  
sit vnder his owne vine, and his figge tree, no adversary nor evill  
occurrent, and now they heare of nothing but *warres, and blood,*  
and *exhausting of treasure*, and *losse of their children and kinred*, and  
*plundering their goods every where*, so that there is nothing but com-  
plaining amongst a world of people, as if our dayes were most mise-  
rable: Now Beloved, give me leave to speake my thoughts freely,  
I will set aside my Text, and the matter I am in hand with, and  
yet I will confidently affirme, that our dayes now are better then  
they were seaven yeares agoe: Because it is better to  
see the Lord executing Judgment, then to see men working  
wickednesse, and to behould a people lye wallowing in their blood,  
rather then apostating from God, and embracing of Idolatry, and  
superstition, and banishing of the Lord Christ from amongst them:  
Set the worke of this Text aside, and the dayes are not so miserable  
now, as they were then, but take this in, which I am handling, and  
I will

I will here (in the wisest and greatest Auditory that any man in this Age hath preached unto) not feare to say, that since *England* was *England*, since any Booke was written concerning *England*, never was their that cause of Joy and rejoycing as there is this very day in *England*: Was there ever a *Parliament* in *England* knowne, which laid the cause of Christ and Religion so to heart as this *Parliament* hath done; Did ever any *Parliament* till now with *David*, swear as in the 132. *Psalm*, That they will never give rest to their eyes, nor slumber to their eye-lids, till they have found out a place to set the Ark of Christ upon, to set up *Christ* for their King, Did ever *Parliament* call such an Assembly of Divines and make them by solemn Vow, or Oath ingage themselves to present nothing to them, but what should be (to their best understanding) the very will of the Lord God: was there ever *Parliament* and Nobilitie, and Ministers, and Citizens, and so many ten-thousands of all sorts in *England* till now, who did joyne in such a Covenant, yea, the two Nations together, that they will to their uttermost, indeavour the Reformation of Religion, in the purity of it, and preservation of it according to Gods Word; Did ever (when heretofore *England* hath been engaged in warre and blood) the City of *London*, the rest of the Tribes, the Godly Party throughout *England*, so willingly exhaust themselves, only that Christ might be set up, and willingly, saying every day to the Lord God, *Lord take all, so Christ may be but King*; Did ever any of you reade it to be thus with *England* till now? My heart is towards the *Governors of England*, which thus willingly offer themselves, and I cannot but tell you, that I think you should all doe as *David* and the Nobles did, when they fetched up the Ark of God from *Kiriath-Jearim*: And I the rather instance in it, because their case and ours were very like, for there the Ark had been in Captivity amongst the *Philistines*, and when it was brought out of Captivity, and placed at *Kiriath-Jearim*, it was but in *Confinio Philistinorum*, neere the border of the *Philistines*, whither when Gods people went to worship, they went in danger, they were subject to the incursions of the *Philistines*, and therefore it is said, *altho' David mourned after the Lord*, that is, They could never goe to Worship, but they went in

fear of some mischief, but now when *David* and the Nobles joyne together, to bring up the Ark of God, and to set it in a fit place for the glory of it, they all danced and skipped for joy, and King *David* the most joyfull Dauncer among them. Though *Michal* scoffed at him; and if this be to be vile (saith hee) *I will be more vile then thus*: I will daunce againe before the Lord: Thus should we doe. When *Jehoiada* the high Priest on a suddaine brought out young King *Joash*, when the people thought they should have alwayes laine under the Tyranny of *Athaliah*, and never seen a Prince more of *David's* race, when such an unexpected favour was bestowed upon them, how did they shout and joy? Thus should our souls doe; Honourable and Beloved, had you ever more cause of joy? Verily, if there be any in this Assembly, that thinks not this a sufficient retribution and satisfaction for all his *Twentieth Part*, for all his *Contributions*, for all his *Payments*, and *Hazards*, if he think himself not well appayed to see the Lord doing all this, I say he is blinde, I say his heart is not right with God, hee hath no share in this present businesse: But to the rest of you, who know the glory and excellency of this worke which the Lord God is doing amongst us, I beseech you rejoyce in it, and goe your ways, and eat the fat, and drink the sweet, praise the Lord for all the good he is doing to this our Israel, and now that the walls are setting up, doe as they did in *Nebemish's* dayes, when they had built them, they shouted and rejoiced, so that the noyse was heard, I know not how many miles off: so let all England Cry, that our blood, our Armies, our Poverty, our Millions wherein we are engaged, are all abundantly repayed in this, That there is such a Concurrence to set up the Lord Christ upon his Throne, to be Lord and King over this our Israel.

*Nehem. 8. 20.*

2. Exhortation  
to Proceed on  
in this work.

To the Parl,

And then Secondly, Let me exhort you all, to goe on in this Work, which you have set your hearts and hands unto; And wherein the Lord hath mercifully Carried you on thus farre, and let me be bold first to speak to you, *Right Honourable, the Lords and Commons* of the Parliament of England, wee have infinite cause all of us, every day to blesse God for your unwearied labours, that thus you stick to it night and day, and are not discouraged; But  
goc

goe on still, I beseech you, make *England* a happy Nation, and though many have disserted you, be not dismayed, I tell you their names shall be written in the Dust, when yours shall be written in letters of Gold, and the Generations to come shall say, *That these Glorious walls of Hierusalem were built in a troublesome time; these foundations of Gods house were laid, and the building reared up in times of Calamity, but blessed be God, for such Lords for such Commons, which would not be taken off; Carry on the work still, leave not a ragge that belongs to Popery, lay not a bit of the Lords building with any thing that belongs to Antichrist, or Antichrists stuffe, but away with all of it, root and branch, head and tayle, throw it out of the Kingdome, and resolve not to leave, till you can say, Now Christ is set upon his Throne, and England is subdu'd to him, and the Good Lord carry you on to doe so: And you my Right Honourable and Excellent Lord, and the rest of the Noble Commanders that are ingaged in this service, let me speak a word unto you, I acknowledge what cause England hath to blesse God; I hope your hearts beleeve, how deere your labours are unto all that love God, and your unwearied paines, which you take, how they are presented at Gods throne every day, goe you on, Noble and Resolute Commanders, goe on and fight the Battells of the Lord Jesus Christ, for so I will not now fear to call them, for although indeed at the first, the enemy did so disguise their enterprises, that nothing cleerly appeared, but only that you were compelled to take up Armes for the defence of your Liberties, and to bring Rebels and Traytors to condigne punishment, but now they have ingaged all the Antichristian world so farre, that all Christendome, except the Malignants in England, doe now see, that the question in England is, whether Christ or Antichrist shall be Lord or King, all in the world, I say again, except our Malignants see it; the Protestants owning the one, and the Papists and Popish-affected the other, as their cause. Goe on therefore courageously, never can you lay out your blood in such a quarrell, Christ shed all his blood to save you from hell, venture all yours to set vp him vpon his throne, that you may be made happy under him, that you may preserve your Liberties and Lawes, and preserve us out of the hands of them*

*To his Excellence, and the rest of the Commanders.*



To the Assem-  
bly of Divines.

To the Citie of  
London.

Encourage-  
ments there-  
unto.

Esay 54. 17.

who would destroy all : And you likewise Reverend Fathers and Brethren, you the Assembly of Divines, and the Reverend and honourable Commissioners of the Church of Scotland joyned with them for the effecting of this worke, goe you on I beseech you, wait upon God, humble your selves for former pollutions, endeavour to see the patterne of the Lords house, that you may hold out the true description of the Lambs wife, that England may be in love with it, that you may have in due time the glory and praise of being Masterbuilders in this great worke of God : And thou Right Honourable and welbeloved City of London of whom I utterly want words when I would speake, goe on, and be a patterne to all the Cities in the world, as thou art this day in expending all for thy Glorious King the Lord Christ, whom thou hast thus farre owned, and whom thou lovest, the Lord hath given thee great wealth and estate, grudge not still to lay it out in his cause, if he had tooke it an other way, thou wouldest have been contented, if fire had burnt it, if pestilence had wasted thy inhabitants, if famine or plunder, or any thing, thou wouldest have been contented; but now though there goe pound after pound, and thousand after thousand, and Regiment after Regiment, when it is for the Lord Christ, and purity of Religion which the enemy would deprive thee of together with thy civill Liberties: never could it goe so honourably, so nobly for his glory, and thy owne comfort : Goe on therefore I beseech you all, and cary on the worke, and for your encouragement remember and observe how the Lord your God goeth before you, observe him in all his goings, how he watcheth over you every day, no weapon can prosper, that is forged against you, no tongue ariseth up in Judgement against you, but the Lord condemnes it every one that pleads against you the Lord pleads against him, & though you loose many of your Noblest and wisest men, the Lord supplies all to you, if you had all the Intelligence in the world, I know not how you should have things discovered to you; so as the Lord hath discovered them, so that if you have wite one day, you have sunshine another, and sometimes both of them mingled together, And although as yet this day of our visitation is like that day in Zidonie, Neither darke



not light, but between them both, in the evening you shall have light abundantly, attend therefore upon the worke, and resolve (the Lord assisting you) never to give over, till you have set up David to be your King, that is, Christ upon his Throne, and for your helpe in it, I will commend to you certaine qualifications, which you shall finde in this very Chapter, amongst them that came thus to set up David to be king. *Zach. 14. 6, 7: Helpe and means to effect this all taken out of this Chap.*

I shall name you six or seaven of them, but I will insist only upon one of them.

1. Look into the Chapter, and you shall finde that they were many of them *wisemen*, that knew the times, and what belonged to every one of their duties labour for that, you have a Promise, That God will grant wisdome to those that seek it. Secondly, They were *skillfull men* every one of them, able to doe that which belonged to his place: Doe not you undertake any thing but what God hath fitted you for. Thirdly, They were *Contragious men*, their faces were like Lyons, they abhorred any danger, when it was in Davids cause, labour for such a spirit; say as *Nehemiah* did, should such a man as I flie, no not a spirit; say as *Nehemiah* did, should such a man as I flie, no not to save my life; flie when I am ingaged for Christ. Fourthly, They had a Spirit of Love, infinite love to David, and his Cause, you shall finde, when some of those that David most suspected, came unto him when hee was at a very low ebbe, he asked them whether they came friendly and heartily, they answered presently, *thine we are, David, Peace be unto thee, &c.* So say, *thine we are, Lord Christ, thine we are, peace be to thy Cause*; oh come with Love, that is the greatest means of all, it is the band of Perfection, and the only way to build up the Church of Christ: I will, saith Paul, shew you a more excellent way, and that is Love, a more excellent way then coming with interpretation of Tongues a more excellent way then Prophecyng, the most excellent of all others they came with infinite readinesse of spirit, so ready, that no man should need to call, *go ye, and go ye*, but let us goe, every one striving which should be first. Another (which indeed was a great one) was single-

1  
VVisdome.  
vers. 32.

2  
Skill.  
vers. 2. 33. 35.

3  
Courage.  
vers 8, 21:

4  
Love.  
vers 18.

1 Cor. 12. ult.

Reddiness of  
mnde. v. 24.

Verf. 33. 38.  
6. Singlenesse  
of Heart,

singlenesse of heart, sincerity, no man driving any work or designe of his own; verily, the doing of that, the looking of self-ends hath been the way of them who have built up Anti-christs Kingdome, but an abhorred thing among them that build up Christs Kingdome, they desire no other reward, but only to see Christ on his throne; set up that, and you give them Peace enough, Gold enough, Honour enough, you give them enough of all, so the worke may be done, for which they are employed, all these are in that Chapter.

7. And above  
all, Vnity and  
Concord.

But the greatest of all is that which I would more fully speak of, and commend unto you, even the Concord and unitie of heart, and unitie of minde, of Spirit, free from deuisions and dissensions among themselves, so my Text saith, *All these came with one heart, and one minde*, and again, *all of them with one perfect heart, so set up David to be their King*: This I would commend to you, as the greatest means of all the rest, beloved, there is innumerable arguments for the perswading of you to it, it is the work of this day, you are this day met together to praise God for it, and therefore it will be very seasonable for me to commend it to you.

Psal. 133. 1.

1. This vnity of heart, and concurrence of spirit to this worke, is the *beautifullest thing* in all the world: *behold how comely a thing it is for bretheren to dwell together in vnity*, nothing more beautifull then vnity and concord in a good worke: All that write of beauty, say, that Symotry is the best part of it, to have a sweet joyning of spirits and hearts together to set vp Christs Kingdome is the loveliest thing in the world.

The strongest  
and most effe-  
ctual means.

2ly, It is *uile* aswell as *jucundum*, strong aswell as lovely, it is the greatest meanes of safety in all the World to have vnion and concord among them that are engaged in Christs cause, an Arch is the strongest building, and a circle the strongest Figure, because in both each part supports and strengthens one another in truth, it is the greatest meanes of safety to any weake people: It is well observed by one, that a few *despised Iewes* when they are but of one heart and one minde, resolved every man to stand close to other for their liues, they have strength enough against their enemies of 127 Provinces, that they dare not stir against them, yea it strikes

Hester. 8. 11.

and (one thing a new building desired) which is the terror

terror into their enemies, when they see how resolutely and boldly they will stand out in it; so when the Lords people, they that own Christ's Cause are, as Solomon saith, the Church of Christ is terrible like an army with Banners, with their Banners displayed and well ordered; there is no strength of enemies able to stand before them: and it is observed of France, that if it do not combat it self, all the world cannot conquer it: and Tacitus observed it long since, that the Romans had never conquered England, if their petty Princes had not been divided among themselves; and some Historians shew, how that all the times, when England was conquered by the Romans, Saxons, Normans, it was alwayes caused by the divisions that were among themselves; O therefore I beseech you, since this unity and concord is such a strength, labour to be all of one heart, and all of one mind in this Work.

Dum pugnant  
singuli vin-  
cuntur uni-  
versis.

And there are three things before your eyes, which may extremely whet up your spirits to it: the one is the practice of your adversaries; do but mark what combinations they make, *The Tabernacles of Edom and the Ishmalites, of Moab and the Hagarens, Gebal and Ammon, and Amalech, the Philistims, and they that dwell at Tyre, Ashur joyned with them, and the children of Lot, all of them in one;* Look upon them in Ireland, in England, you shall see them bound by Oaths, by Covenants; you shall see them sending into France, offering offensive and defensive leagues to Antichristian people: so they will but joyne to come and help to ruine us; shall there be this care among them to destroy us, and shall not we be united?

Non invenio  
unitatem et con-  
cordiam.

1. First from  
the example of  
the enemy.  
Psal. 83. 6.  
7. 26.

Secondly, you see, and this dayes work sets it before your eyes, what infinite indeavours they use to oppose all our union, if the City and Parliament be united, if the two Houses be united, if England and Scotland be united, what extreme indeavours are used, what stone is not rolled, what sort of men is not attempted, what Profession soever they be of, be they Jesuites, be they Friars, be they Priests, be they Professors, be they such as they call Puritanes, they try them all, to see if they can but divide the City from Parliament, the Houses one from another, the English from the Scots, what would they not buy it at? *Hoc Illiacus velis & magno mercentur Atrida*, millions of gold would they give to effect it.

2. From their  
indeavours to  
to divide us.

Thirdly, consider their greatest hope, and our greatest danger is in our divisions: A Diamond (they say) is easily cut with its owne  
E dust

Prov. 18. 19.

dust, and a House is then most like to fall, when all the joynts of it begin to part one from another: unity and concord among brethren, are well compared to the bars of a Castle, not easily broken, and while they remain firme, give safety and security, but when they are once broken, they will hardly be made whole: they are also fitly compared to a Cable roape, which will not easily break, but if once cut asunder, its hard to tye a knot upon it again. I beseech you therefore, you honourable Lords, and Nobles, and Commons, you Reverend Divines, you Valiant Soldiers, you worthy Citizens. I know you cannot in all things be all of one minde, but in what you can, be all of one heart, though you cannot in all things be of one minde; let confusion and division belong to them that build *Babel*; let there be no noise heard at the rearing of the Lords Temple.

3.  
From the danger of divisions.

Phil. 2. 1, 2.

1 Cor. 1. 10.

Next to the guilt of our sinnes, I feare nothing so much as our divisions, but could we first be reconciled to our God by faith, in the blood of Christ, and be firmly united together, and set all our shoulders as one man to this work, our enemies designes would all faile, and the work of God would prosper in our hands; I will conclude this first Branch with that Councell of the Apostle, *Phil. 2. 1.* *If there be therefore any Consolations in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels & mercies, fulfill my joy; that ye be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, and of one mind.* And with that *1 Cor. 1. 10.* *Now I beseech you brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no division among you, but that you be perfectly joynd together, in the same minde, and in the same judgement, and whereto we have attained, let us walk by the same Rule, let us minde the same thing.*

And so much for the first Branch of the matter of their joy; they met together to set up *David* to be King, that is, *David* as he was a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we are endeavouring to Exalt upon his Throne. The time commands me to be very short in the other Branch, and I may very well, for if the Lord should not prosper us in this, that we should not *joyne together to set up Christ*, in vaine shall we attempt the other; and if the Lord blesse this work in our hands; this will either in due time bring about the other, or infallibly supply the defect of it, and make us happie without it.

Briefly

Briefly, the Lesson from it is this: *That such a concurrence* (as is  
 aforementioned) *to set up a Prince in this Common-Weal, like to Da-*  
*vid, is a matter of great joy and reioycing.*

I shall according to promise be very brief in it: had not the time pre-  
 vented, I would have produced & opened unto you divers examples  
 out of the Scripture, of the great content & joy which hath bin, where  
 there hath met a concurrence of the Nobles & Leaders of the people,  
 to set up a good Magistrate over them; viz. in *David*, in *Solomon*, in *Jo-*  
*ash*, in *Nehemiash*, and divers others, where when good Governours  
 and Governments have been set up, the people have infinitely rejoy-  
 ced; But you'l understand it fully, by that time I have but a little shew-  
 ed you the relation, betwixt a Prince and his people; he is their *Head*,  
 their *Lord*, their *Father*, they are his children, he is (so the Scripture  
 calls it) to be the *light of their eyes*, the *breath of their nostrils* a kind of  
*Fountaine* to derive all good to them; this he is *ex Officio*; and there-  
 fore it follows, that the *goodnesse*, or *ilnesse* of Princes, is not to *them-*  
*selves* alone, but all their *people* do share with them, either in blessed-  
 nesse, or in misery, according as the Prince is in goodnesse, or in bad-  
 nesse: Let the Prince be a good man, a *David*, he is then like unto  
*Nebachadnezzars tree*, which he saw in his vision, that had ment  
 for all, the fruit thereof much, and boughs for birds to make their  
 nests in, and shelter for all beasts, that they might dwell  
 under it; that is, affording reliefe and comfort to all: Hee is  
 the light of the eyes to his people, the breath of their no-  
 strils, he is worth 10000. of them: And to such an one, the people  
 do most joyfully (as they ought to do) yeeld reverence, (even the  
 greatest next unto God) and *allegiance* to their person, and authori-  
 ty, *subiection* and *obedience* to their Laws, *maintenance* out of their  
 own estates, and furnish them with *counsell*, and all manner of Prayer,  
 cheerfully as they ought to do; because under such a Prince, *religion*  
 is *preserved*, if it be *corrupt*, it is *purged*, *reformed*, *justice* is *admini-*  
*stred* without partiality, *good men* are *incouraged*, *Peace* is *procured*,  
 and *preserved*; *Trades* are likewise *enriched*; *Learning*, and all such  
 like promoted, the *Poor* are *relieved*, all made *happy*: can you won-  
 der then, that where there is a concurrence to have such an one set  
 up, there is great *Joy*: on the other side, let the Prince be either *Weak*  
 and *foolish*, or *wicked*, and *ungodly*, *riotous* and *luxurious*, let him be  
*cruell* and *tyrannicall*; O how miserable are that people under him?

2. Branch,  
 A great happi-  
 nesse in a good  
 King.  
 Proved by  
 Scripture.  
 1 Cor. 29. 21.  
 1 King. 1. 49.  
 2 King. 11. 17  
 &c.  
 Nehem. 12. 43  
 And from the  
 relation be-  
 tween a King  
 and his people.  
 Iudg. 11. 87.  
 1 King 2. 43.  
 Esay 49. 23.  
 People happy  
 in a good  
 King.  
 Iob 29. 16.  
 Iudg. 5. 7  
 2 Sam. 21. 12.  
 Lament. 4. 20.  
 Eccles. 40. 16.  
 Dan. 4. 21.  
 2 Sam. 18. 3.  
 Prov. 14. 21.  
 2 Pet. 2. 16.  
 1 Chron. 12.  
 18.  
 Tit. 2. 1.  
 Ad. 4. 19.  
 Rom. 13. 1. 3.  
 1 Kin. 21. 23.  
 Ezra. 10.  
 1 Tim. 2. 12.  
 2 Chron. 15.  
 12.  
 Lev. 19. 15.  
 Rom. 13. 3. 4.  
 1 Tim. 2. 2.  
 Iob 29. 16.  
 Neh. 5. 1. &c.  
 Miserable in a  
 how bad King.



how great is the *darknesse*, where the *light* is turned into *darknesse*? how miserable is the *body*, where the very *Organs* of their *breathing*, the breath of their nostrils comes to be corrupted, or taken from them? how miserable are they, when the very *Fountain*, that should afford them comfort is *Poysoned*? such a Prince is like to *Ieroboam*, that compels the people to sin and misery; like unto the *Dragon* who when he fell from heaven, drew the very *Starrs* from heaven to the ground with him; like to great *Cedars* which when they fall, break *all* the woods that are round about them; thus by their Prince are a people made happy or miserable, and so *Solomon* expresses it in his *Ecclesiastes*, *Happy art thou O Land*, if thy Prince be thus, *Miserable art thou O Land*, if thy Prince be thus; must you not then count it a matter of great joy, to have a good King set up to rule over you?

I adde secondly, that this is a greater matter of joy, when the *Nobles*, the *Parliament*, the *leading men* of the *Citie* and *Tribes* concur to have such a one, both because that is the *most likely* meanes to obtaine it, God promising his blessings to such *indeavours*; and they likewise having some beames of Gods authority put upon them, may by their Councell and Example, make the Prince to be good, and inhabile him to carry out the publike good; or if that cannot be attained, (through Gods mercy) by their meanes, there may be a supply of what is wanting in him to make the people happie, though they faile of it in the other; I shall make a brief application of this second Branch, and so passe over it.

Application.

I.  
They are therefore cursed who hinder this.

First, if to have a *David* to be our King, is such a blessednesse? then how cursed, and ten thousand times cursed are they who endeavour for ever to rob us of that happinesse: who as they would rob us of Christ, the greatest happinesse for our *souls*, so they would for ever deprive us, of having any hope to be blessed under a Prince, that should be like unto *David*; who have rent off the person, and the affection of our Sovereign from us; who endeavour to instill principles of crueltie into his breast, against us, and foment them in him, who have provoked him to raise Armes to destroy his Nobles, and Commons, and Divines, and this most honoured City, and even all who have beene most faithfull, have put him into Armes to ruin us; and when we but stand up for our own defence, represent us to him as Traytors, and Rebels, because we will not give up our Throats



Throates to be cut by them, at their pleasure, and our goods to be wholly possessed by them; If I had all Rhetorick, it would yet be short of speaking of these men, what they do deserve. I can more fitly compare them to none, then to the *Jewes* long since in *England*, who (before they were banished hence) threw bags of poison into the fountains and wells, that the people were to drink of, and so indeavoured to poison them all. Accursed men there are who labour to make the breach so wide, that we should never hope to sit under the shadow of our Prince, with any hope and confidence; who would rather have our streetes run with our blood, and venture their own too, then that we should have a Prince like unto *David*, that is, *Iust*, ruling in the feare of the Lord, to be like the morning light, and the morning without clouds when the sun ariseth: I suppose none of these men are here present, and I love not to speak much of absent men, but onely tell you, what cause we have (as to curse them) so to blesse the Lord God, who hitherto hath delivered us out of their hands, and let the Lord, the righteous Lord, be iudge between us and them.

The other use of it is, to you, Honourable, Reverend and beloved, who next unto the setting up of Christ, have hitherto indeavored by your Petitions, your Remonstrances, your Supplications, and by all means possible, so rescue our Sovereign out of their hands, that not only there might be a right understanding betwixt us and Him, but that He might in truth reign over us as *David*, and His Throne made like unto *David*; I humbly pray you, go on in these indeavours, that if the Lord see it good, it may be so; if He will have it otherwise, we shall have the more comfort, what ever betides us, in the unfeignednesse of our desires, and indeavours after it.

2. Exhortation to indeavour after this happiness.

If you demand what hope is there of it; or what further means may we use for the attaining of it? I shall speak only as a Divine, in commending these *three things*: The first is; Be all of you humbled before God for your own sins, and for all the sins that *England* lies guilty of; for though we are ready enough to impute it to such and such that are about Him; or it may be to some Principles of His own, believe it (Beloved) what *Salomon* saies of the change of Princes; *Prov. 28. 2.* For the iniquity of a Land, many are the Princes of it: so for the iniquity of the Land, it is thus with us this day; and that is in truth the greatest cause of it; the Lord could blow all this over presently, and

Means how to effect it.

2 Sam. 24. 1.

Judg. 9. 23.  
26. 57.

certainly, would, if hee were but reconciled to England; David did one Act, which cost a *master of three score and ten thousand mens lives in a few dayes*, a vain-glorious act, in numbring the people; but if you mark the Text, it saith, *That Israel had provoked God to Wrath, and then God let Satan loose upon David, to move him to that vile act*, and the Lord did but take that as an occasion; and so when the Lord had an intent to destroy the *men of Shiehem*, who had set up *Abimelech* to be their King, is said, *The Lord sent an evill spirit between Abimelech and them, that they might devoure and tear one another*; Why was it? even for the wickednesse that the people as well as their King had been guilty of; so then, if ever you would have your Prince restored as a *David*, to be a blessing to you, labour all to be humbled every one for the iniquity of his own heart and life, and for all the prodigious wickednesses that this Kingdome stands guilty of.

2.  
Pro. 21. 1.

Secondly, Commend him to the Lords working upon his heart, by your daily prayers: *The Kings heart* (saith *Salomon*) *is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of Water, hee turns it which way he pleaseth*; meaning plainly, there is no way in the world to alter the spirit of a Prince, but only by the work of God, and God can do it in a moment: *Esa* came against his Brother with four hundred armed men, full of deadly rage, resolving to destroy him; *Jacob* spent a night in prayer, on a sudden God turned *Esa's* heart, that hee fell upon his brothers neck, and kissed him, as if hee had been the dearest brother in the world to him; And had the King forty thousand of the bravest soldiers under heaven, were all our Armies dissolved, were our Gates opened, were they marching in with a resolution to plunder our Cities, to ravish our wives, and make our City flow with blood, if the Lord did but speak the word, their hearts would be turned presently, therefore do as *Nehemiah* did, when hee was to deal with a King, that was of a nature rugged enough, when he was to goe to him, he first made his prayer to God, and the Lord turned the heart of the King toward him; so as the good people did in the *Psalme*, beg of God that the King might heare: *Save Lord, Let the King heare us when we call*; commend it to the Lord, and the Lord can bring it about easily.

Nehem. 4.

Psal. 29. ult.

Thirdly, especially you that are in great place, that are the Lords and Commons, our Senators, if ever you would have it well, you must do

do your utmost to remove all the wicked from his Throne, and in stead of them, you must indeavour to have men of wisdom and godlinesse placed about him; this must be done, if you will hope for a blessing in Gods way; *Take away* (saith Salomon) *the drosse from the silver, then there shall come forth a vessell for the refiner, a choyce vessel, fit for an honourable use*; but otherwise let him make up a vessell of drosse and silver together, who will regard it? So (saith he) *Take away the Wicked from the King, and his Throne is established in righteousness*; And certainly, if wicked men be pests and plagues, in what part of the Land soever they are found, they are much more so, when they are found in the Courts of Princes; Labour therefore to remove them, and to set others in their room: Salomon saith excellently in that place of the *Proverbs*, For the iniquity of the Land, many are the Princes of it; then it followes, *But by a man of understanding and knowledge, the State thereof shall be prolonged*; I think he means it not only of a wise Prince, but he means this; that as the wicked men corrupts their Princes, drawes them to dissolutenesse, tyranny, &c. and so to ruine them and the Land: So grave and good Counsellors, prudent men about him, are great means to prolong the tranquillity of it: I could shew you by examples how, not only wise and good Princes, wise and good States-men, but even women (as some of them have been the ruine of many Princes; so by the seasonable advyce of women) Princes and Cities have been preserved: you know the wise advice of *Abigail* kept *David* from shedding innocent blood. And there was a poor Woman in the City of *Abel*, who by speaking to *Isaiah*, delivered all the City; and *Solomon* tels you, in the ninth of *Ecclesiastes*, of a poor, wise, good man, who delivered a small City, when a great King came against it, with a great Army; I beseech you therefore let it be in your indeavours, to get such about him; I hope you imagine not that I would have such set about Him for their own preferments or gain; no, no, the man that aims at such things, will never be good for any thing; hee who once sets up *Mammon* to be his God, is not fit to serve either God or his Prince, or Church or State; but I speak of men of integrity and faithfulness, of goodness, who will trample all under their feet; so that *Christ* might reigne, and that a Kingdom might be made happy; such men set about a Prince, may make a King like *David*, and preserve him such a one, if he be so; and so (right honourable)

Prov. 25. 4.

Prov. 28. 2.

1 Sam. 25. 1.

2 Sam. 20.

Ecclef. 9. 13.

nourable) have I done with the first part of my Text, *The matter of their joy*; the concurrence of them, to set up *David* to be their King.

2. *Obs.*  
Each joy may  
be expressed  
by feasting.

I should now have come to the second, The manner of expressing their joy, which was by *feasting*; you'll have enough of that anon: All that I shall say shall be, to perswade you to take heede that you have not too much of it; I have not time to handle it, otherwise I could have shewed you, How Gods people used on such occasions as these, to have feasting and rejoycing: But I must confesse our dayes are such in regard of the manifold distresses, that this Kingdom and poore Ireland are wrapped in, that were it not upon such an occasion as this feast is, I should say to all Feasters as *Vriah* said to *David*, when he would have him go home to his wife, *The Arke* (said he) *and Israel, and my Lord Ioab, and all lye in the open field, and shall I go home to be merry with my Wife, as the Lord liveth I will not doe it?* so I would say else to all Feasters, Is Ireland undone? and so many Counties in the Kingdom in that distresse, are there so many hundreds, so many thousands that lived heretofore like Nobles, like Gentlemen, who now have hardly bread to put into their bellies, and canst thou finde money and cost in needlesse and Prodigall feasting? this I should else have said; But I confesse (beloved) to my poore observation, Never was there a feast upon a better occasion among us, nor for a better end, then the Feast of this day; not upon a better occasion, that when the enemies did endeavour to ruin us, by our division, that this should be made an occasion of our feasting and rejoycing together; and for such an end, that whereas they would faine blow it over all the Kingdom, over all the world, that we are rent and divided a sunder, the Lords from Commons, and both Houses from the Citie, &c. we purposely Feast to praise God, and tell all the world there is no such matter; that we are all one, of one heart, and one minde; that our eating and drinking should speake this out, that all the world should heare it; It is a blessed opportunitee, and the Lord guided them who ever first perswaded to it; I onely pray you (Lords and Gentlemen) in your Feasting, do onely what becomes a Feast, which followes a holy Convocation, a day of rejoycing in the Lord; and therefore in it, observe these few Rules. Remember, (first) God must be regarded, banish not Christ out of your Company; let there be no carriage

Rules for Feasting.

carriage at your Table which may grieve him, and make him say, *This Roome I delight not to be in*; Remember all the Feasts of Gods people in the Old Testament, they were *Sacrifices*, or Feasts which were accompanied with *Sacrifices*, yea the very heathen counted them prophane men, who would offer to make a feast of that, that was not first offered to their gods, hereby to make it blessed to them; So do you eate and drink as in the presence of the Lord, that you may praise the Name of the Lord, who hath shewed this mercy to you; doe as the little birds, who take not one drop, but they lift up their heads to heaven, as it they would tell all the world, whence they received their food; so do you acknowledge the Lord, give him his glory and his praise; let there be no uncomely carriage among you; I should justly be blamed if I should think you needed any perswasion to keepe you from drinking healths, from riot and excessse; I know you abhor it, but I beg that none of your servants, nor attendants may do it, that nothing may be done which would grieve the Lord.

Secondly, let the maine end of your feasting be *Symbolum & vinculum charitatis*, a pledge and bond to shew, and more, to make you all one, of one heart, and one minde; that you may pledge one another in such a Cup, as may not only speak you all to be one, but may attaine the very end, for which this feast is made, more to ingage you in this Common cause. That this Feast, may be as a Feast, which (I think) *Lucian* speaks of it, where a poore wronged man made a Feast of an Oxe, and every one who tasted of his meate, did thereby engage himselfe to live and dye with that poore man to recover his right, in somewhat that he was wronged in; and so let this engage your Spirits, that now you have eaten and drunk of their Cup, that Your and their Spirits, and Prayers, and Hearts, and Purples shall be all one; O if this might be the carriage of it, this day would be a blessed day.

There is one thing more, that must not be forgotten, you must in such feastings as these, *Remember the poore, for whom nothing is provided*; alwayes did Gods people make at their feasts collections or contributions in *Hester*, in *Nehemiah*, &c. *Go your wayes and eate and drinke, and remember them, for whom nothing is provided*; and the very heathens upon such occasions would send portions at their Festivall times to the poore and needy. And for that very end I confesse I



was in hope that at such a great meeting as this is, there would have been some publike contribution and collection, that there being so many poore brethren in the Town, plundered, and undone, and distressed, our feasting might have given them a refreshing also; but it did not appeare fit (as I am informed) to the wisdom of this Noble Citie, when they had invited the Honourable Houses of Parliament and others, to refresh the poore at the cost of their ghests, but what is to be done for the poore, they will do it at their own proper costs and charges, I know they will not forget them; but I beseech you all not to omit this duty upon this Festivall day; though there be no Basons at the door, before you sleep, finde some Bason or other, finde some poore, to whom you may do somewhat, that they may know that your hearts have remembered the afflicted in this day, wherein God hath refreshed you: and so much for this time.



*Ff N 7 S.*



The Journal of the Proceedings of the

It is this day ordered by the Lords and  
Commons That thanks be rendered

to the Lord Bishop of Exeter for his  
sermon given to the Commons  
for the great benefit of the Nation  
preached at the meeting of the Commons  
City and Shire of Exeter  
at the House of Commons  
and in relation to  
his sermon.



In Great Old Parliament





*Die Sabat. 20. January. 1643.*

**I**T is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons, That thanks be returned to the *City* for their great entertainment; and likewise, to give thanks to *Mr. Marshall* for the great pains he took in the Sermon, preached at the meeting of the *Lords and Commons, City and Assembly* at *Christ-Church*, January 18. and to desire him to print his Sermon.

*Jo. Brown* Cler. Parliamentor.



Nov. 40.

THE

# KINGDOMES

## Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From Tuesday the 16. of January, to Friday the 24. of January. 1644.

I Shall not need to mention, with what affection the City gave entertainment to the Parliament, and what appearances there was of Lords and Commons, there was so many eye witnesses of it, that even the Malignants themselves cannot chuse but let their friends at Oxford know, that no design of theirs, to divide the City and Parliament can take effect.

They (without offence) give you a touch of another attempt (this design of his Majesties, and Read the Irish Rebel, and Sir East Brookes not taking notice) to invite Propositions, to involve us into distractions, countenanced by the Lord Louisa, and Secretary Nicholas, who assure themselves, that any Law concerning tender consciences, may have a free passage, if propounded; but both Kingdoms being engaged in a Covenant, the one to fall with the other, till we heare from the Scots, and that their concurrence go

along with the Parliament, no Propositions can be concluded of.

I will tell you, what I have from good hands; that as soone as the Parliament knowes, that the Scots are in any considerable place in England: the Kingdom of Scotland, and the Parliament of England, will both of them, joyne in a Petition to his Majestie, to be better advised (then hitherto he hath been) and to desert the Councells of Irish Rebels, and Papists, and Delinquents, that love to fish in troubled waters, and have no other way of Protection left, and (in brisfe) to come to the Parliament, and so joyne with both his Kingdoms in the late solemn League and Covenant: And he shall be made Honourable at home and terrible to his enemies abroad.

It is certainly informed, that at *Oxford*, they are divided into Factions: The first, and leading faction is, those that adhere to *Fermain*; and those that countenance him, are the *Queene*, *Campton*, *Bristol*, *Dorset*, *Porter*, *Windsor*, and all the Irish Rebels, and English Papists: The second faction is, *Prince Ruperts*, and they that adhere unto him, are the Cavalry and Souldiers, and some Ladies of quality: Of the third faction, *Commissary Williams* is the chiefe, and those that adhere unto him, are the Nobility and Gentry, and moderate part of those that adhere to the King, and many of whom, are not in Armes: It is further certified thence, that *Marquiss Hamilton* (if he be not secretly made away) is no further towards *Pembroke* castle, then *Bristol*.

The Earle of *Lanrick* escape (for the Scotch Lords, as well as the English Lords, begin now to have their eyes opened, and see what Protestant Religion is intended to be setled by those at *Oxford* (such a one onely, as Irish Rebels and Papists shall advise) doth much satisfie, and confirme those many English Lords, that have of late deserted the King, upon a sense they had of ruine intended to religion by those that lead the King as they list.

This great Earle, though under restraint, yet to the hazard of his life escaped in a disguised habit, by a crafty wile, of *Master Cummings*, &c though he came as it were, out of the frying pan into the fire, from prison to be imprisoned; for here he was formerly accused by the Parliament for an incendiary, occasioned by a Letter of his and other Scotch Lords then in Lancashire to her Majestie and to *Master Fermain*, to hasten supplies to the Earle of *Derby* or that Countrey was lost; yet he hath Petitioned both houses of Parliament, that he may be sent down in safe custody to the Kingdom of Scotland, to undergo the justice of that Kingdom, expressing infinite sorrow for his miscarriages, deserving so highly the displeasure of the Parliament of England.



Monſieur de Harcourt is coming from Oxford, but if his addreſſes to the Parliament when he comes, be no otherwayes, then his Letter to both houſes, in anſwer to that buſineſſe concerning the Lord Goring, he may well thinke, the Parliament of England, cannot but be ſenſible of their own honour: for his Letter, was thus directed (I am willing to thinke it was the forgetfulheſſe of his Secretary) *A Meſſieurs Meſſieur de Gray, & de Lenthall*: It ſeemes he was unwilling to give them their further additions of *Speakers, of the two houſes of the Parliament of England*, becauſe he is loath to acknowledge this a Parliament; which he is like to do, or not like to receive any ſafe conduct from the Parliament, to protect him from the unruly Souldier that is too ſenſible of the injurie done this Kingdom, by his negotiation at Oxford, if the Letter of my Lord Goring's owne hand writing to her Majeſtie at Oxford (for it ſeemes his Majeſtie ſteeres not ſo great affaires) may receive credit.

Though the Speakers of both Houſes have ſuch a Letter ſent unto them: they having met, conceive it to be ſome uncouth thing, being ſo addreſſed, and therefore hold it not fit nor worthy the acknowledge of the Parliament.

It was told you formerly, that on Monday, Jan. 22. inſtant, the Houſe of Commons was to call their Members, to ſee who adhered unto them, and who had deſerted the defence of Religion and liberty, which order was made upon the occaſion, of a pretended Parliament, to meet at Oxford, on the ſame day; wherein the expectation of her Majeſtie (that drives on forraigne as well as domeſtique deſignes) will be much fruſtrated, in number of appearance: For the Houſe of Commons (the representative body of the Commons of England) being called on that day, there appeared an hundred and eightie: there appeared, by the call, to be employed in the ſervice of the Parliament, ſiftie; and about ſiftie more were reſpited, ſome for their

attendance, in regard of sickness; and because they were firme in their affections to the Parliament; and on their necessary occasions in the Countrey, and some of them having taken the Covenant: there are doubtlesse many Members of the House, that have appeared in the House, and taken the Nationall Covenant, are in number, as I am informed, no hundred and twelve, the rest, as my Lord Fairfax, Sir William Brouncker, the Lancashire Gentlemen, and others, have asked to be in the Countrey, but cannot, as yet, come up to subscribe their names to the Roll in Parliament, which is to remain to posteritie, as the rest that have taken it have done.

By computation, the Queen is like to have within Parliament at Oxford, not eightie persons; and yet she hath caused, in all Proclamations, it to be expressed, to deceive the people, that the Major part of both Houses adhere to her Majestie. Besides, consider, that in regard of the weather, she cannot have her full number of eightie, for no doubt, all the Westmerland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire Parliament-men, that were of the House, could not passe to Oxford: Besides, some are imployed in Command, and if they come out of the Countrey, the Countrey will go neere to rise against them: and so this brave designe of a Parliament at Oxford, will appear to be as much Nothing.

Perhaps the Mace may be carried before Jefferys their Speaker, (I mean Jefferys Palmer, attended with Master Wolbarne, Master Hide, Master King, Master Chadwell, and such kind of men, of loose lives, of the long Robe; and perhaps, leached Sergeant Evers, may be there, and the foure Judges, Heath, Banks, Foster, and Glanville, that indicted the Earle of Rembrake of high Treason, who resolves to have them hanged, if ever they fall into the hands of the Parliament; and an Impeachment of high Treason is preparing against these foure men: Perhaps, that learned

learned Physician, Doctor *Turner*, that brave States-man, Ma-  
ster *Rivon*, that thick spoken Gentleman, Master *Strangways*,  
may be there also at this great meeting. I must not forget *Charles*  
*Wile*, that brave Britaine, that will sell God and her Countrey  
to serve her King; be it in a cause never so unjust; for her will  
never die for a Clowie, be the cause never so honourable and  
honest.

I have used the best interest I have, with those that know  
much of State-affaires, and I cannot be assured for certaintie,  
how far the Scots have entered England, nor whether they re-  
turned not back by reason of the unpassableness of the wayes,  
in respect of the great snow; for no Messenger is come this five  
weeks almost, either by Sea or land out of Scotland.

Neither can I be certainly informed of the defeat given the  
Irish forces by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, though, by Letters from  
Oxford, Worcester, Warwick and Coventry, it is certified, of  
a great blow given the Kings forces by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and  
Sir *William Blacott*; no doubt, the badness of the wayes hin-  
ders speedy intelligence.

The Lords and Commons for preventing of the adjournment  
of the Courts of Justice to Oxford both now and for the future,  
have ordained that if any spies, or any person or persons what-  
soever shall at any time hereafter deliver or cause to be delive-  
red to any of the Judges of any of his Majesties Courts to be  
held in Westminster, or to any of the inferiour Officers of the  
said Courts to be delivered to any of the said Judges, any Writ,  
Proclamation, or other thing whatsoever sealed with any great  
Seale, other then the great Seale of England, now attending the  
Parliament by Ordinance of both Houses, that every such per-  
son shall be proceeded against by the Law Marshall as Spies,  
and that none of the said Judges, nor inferiour Officers of the  
said respective Courts aforesaid, shall presume to receive, view,

or meddle with any Writ or Proclamation, sealed with any great Seale, without first acquainting the Speakers of the two Houses therewith, and receiving and pursuing the directions to be given thereupon from both houses of Parliament, upon paine of imprisonment of their persons, sequestration of their estates, and such further punishment as shall be thought meet by both Houses of Parliament; And that no judge, Officer, or other person whatsoever carry or cause to be carried away any Records, &c. from any of the Courts at *Westminster* or other places in or about the Cities of *London* or *Westminster* unto the City of *Oxford*, or any other of the Kings Quarters, under the penalties aforesaid.

There is newes come from *Plymouth*, that the Fleet of ships the Parliament sent to relieve that Town and Fort, are safely arrived there, and all their provision of Armes, Ammunition, Meale, Mills to grinde Corne, and other necessities, and also six hundred Souldiers are safely landed, to the great joy and contentment of the honest hearted Citizens of that Towne, and terrour of the perfidious and infamous enemy; who upon the arrivall of the ships have withdrawne themselves to remoter Quarters; with what joy, the inhabitants received these men and provisions, appears by the thankfull acknowledgement they have returned to the Parliament and City of *London*, that have thus supplied them. In a short time it is certified thence, that Colonell *Wadlaw* the Governour of that Towne, intends to take the field, and then, no doubt the County will rise to his assistance, for the plundering, and inhumane carriage of the enemy hath been such; as that they wait onely for an opportunity to joyne with the Parliaments forces.

For the businesse concerning Sir *William Brereton*, and Sir  
*Thomas*

*Thomas Fairfax*, of an overthrow given to the enemy by them : It is by other hands certified, that the service was performed by *Colonell Mitten*, who sallied out of *Wen*, and fell upon the Popish Cavaliers in their march from *Shrewsbury* to relieve *Nantwich*, and kild upon the place sixty, took prisoners, two hundred and sixty foot, and two hundred and fifty horse and their Armes, besides other Armes and Ammunition.

It is further certified from those parts, that *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, about three dayes after this brave service done by *Colonell Mitten*, was on his march from *Dranchester*, joyned with the forces of *Lancashire* and *Sir William Brerelons* forces, in all consisting of eight thousand horse and foot, towards the reliefe of *Nantwich*, of which businesse you are like to heare some particulars next weeke.

There is newes come, that the Kings Forces are marched against *Alisbury* : And *Prince Rupert* with eight peece of Ordnance towards *Northampton* : And that the Earle of *Newcastle* is at *York*, yet hath sent three thousand horse, and Dragoones into *Lincolnshire*, and parts thereabouts, so by that, it is conceived the Scots are not near *Marston*, or that he is not able to encounter with them, if they be there.

By the next works intelligence, you will without doubt, hear particularly of the Scots Army.

The

Printed according to Order  
of W. R. and R. W.



The names of the Sheriffs nominated for some of those Counties, whose Patents are passing the Great Seal in the custody of the high Court of Parliament, are these:

**B**edford, *Hughrey Fish*, Esquire. *Berkshire*, *Sir Francis Pile*, Knight. *Buckinghamshire*, *Sir Mennage Arden*, Knight. *Yorkshire*, *Sir Matthew Bownton*, Knight. *Glostershire*, *Thomas Stephens*, Esquire. *Hampshire*, *Richard Norton*, Esquire. *Hertfordshire*, *Sir John Carter*, Knight. *Suffolk*, *William Bayly*, Esquire. *Leicestershire*, *Peter Temple*, Esquire. *Lincolnshire*, *Edward King*, Esquire. *Norfolk*, *John Cooke*, Esquire. *Northamptonshire*, *John Norton*, Esquire. *Northumberland*, *Michael Welden*, Esquire. *Nottingham*, *Francis Thornhill*, Esquire. *Rutlandshire*, *Master Osborne*, Esquire. *Survey*, *Edward Fordaine*, Esquire. *Kent*, *Sir Michael Levesey*, Knight. *Sussex*, *John Baker*, Esquire. *Essex*, *Timothy Middleton*, Esquire. *Salop*, *Thomas Miston*, Esquire. *Warwickshire*, *William Coleman*, Esquire. *Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire*, *Sir Thomas Martin*, Esquire.

These Gentlemen are not thus made Sheriffs, so the intent they should be put to the unnecessary and excessive charges, as former Sheriffs have been, for an Order is made for the exempting them from such charges, and especially for passing their accounts.



Printed according to Order for  
G. B. and R. W.

TWO <sup>4</sup>  
ORDINANCES  
*of England* OF THE  
LORDS and COMMONS  
Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

One  
For the constant Recruiting, maintain-  
ing, and Regulating of the Forces of the seven  
Associated Counties, under the Command of  
EDWARD Earle of  
MANCHESTER.

The other,  
For the Regulating the Vniversity of Cambridge,  
and for removing of Scandalous Ministers in the  
seven Associated Counties.

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Die Lunæ, 22 Jan. 1643.

Ordered by the Lords, assembled in Parliament, that  
these Ordinances shall be forthwith Printed and pub-  
lished.

J. Brown Cler, Parliamentorum,

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LONDON,  
Printed for Iohn Wright in the Old-Baily,  
Jan. 24. 1643.

# ORDINANCES

FOR THE REGULATION OF THE  
MUNICIPALITY OF LONDON

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MUNICIPALITY OF LONDON



It is thereupon Ordained, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, That for the intents and purposes aforesaid, the severall weekly summes of Money, hereafter in this Ordinance mentioned, shall be Charged, Rated, Taxed, and Levied upon the severall Counties, according to the Proportions herein expressed, the same to be paid in weekly to the severall Collectors, and by them to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed by this Ordinance for the receivng hereof, That is to say, upon the County of Essex, the weekly summe of one thousand six hundred eighty seven pounds ten shillings, upon the County of Suffolke, the weekly summe of one thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds, upon the County of Norfolke, and City of Norwich, the weekly summe of one thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds, upon the County of Hartford, the weekly summe of six hundred seventy five pounds, upon the County of Cambridge, the weekly sum of five hundred sixty two pounds ten shillings, upon the County of Huntington, the weekly summe of three hundred and thirty pounds, upon the County of Lincoln, and City of Lincoln, the weekly summe of one thousand two hundred eightene pounds fifteen shillings, and upon the Isle of Ely, the weekly summe of two hundred twenty one pounds five shillings. And the said weekly payments are to begin from the first day of January instant, and so to continue weekly for foure moneths next ensuing from the said first day of January.

And be it further Ordained, That every person or persons that were to be Assessed or Taxed, by any former Ordinance of Parliament, shall be Assessed and Taxed by this Ordinance, and shall be lyable to as great Forfeitures and Penalties, for not paying of the summe or summes to be Assessed, as they should have beene if the same had beene Assessed, by vertue of the last Ordinance for the weekly pay-



payment for the said Association made the twentieth of September last; And the severall and respective Deputy Lieutenants and Committees, named and returned within the said Association, or any part thereof, by the said recited Ordinance, to take care for the Assessing, Collecting, or Levying of any Monyes, are named and incured by this Ordinance, and have as full Power and Authority given them by this Ordinance, to nominate and appoint Collectors and Assessors, and to Distreine, fine, Imparison, or Sequester, as they or any of them had, by vertue of the said recited Ordinance, in all, or any part of the said Associated Counties; And the severall Collectors, shall pay the severall summes by them Collected, at the place or severall places where the Earle of Manchester, and the Committee for the Association attending the said Earle shall appoint, and to the Treasurer or Treasurers to be by them named, which Treasurer or Treasurers, are to Issue out the Monyes received for the purposes aforesaid, according to the Warrant or directions of the said Earle of Manchester, and of any two of the said Committees for the said Association, which shall be appointed thereunto by the said Earle, and a full Committee, consisting of one for every County at least, and of the Commissary Generall, for the time being of the said Earle of Manchester; And that no Monyes be Issued out without Order under the hands of the said Earle, such two of the said Committee and the said Commissary Generall, nor yet without the majority of the whole Committee attending the said Earle.

And be it further Ordained, That all the Forces raised, or to be raised, under the command of the said Earle, shall be kept intire, and not drawn forth, or kept, or continued forth upon any service, without the knowledge and joynt consent of the said Earle, and the said Committee while they are together, or of one of them, while they are di-  
 1011

one from another, or without particular directions of Parliament. And that every Captaine both of Horse and foot, and every other Superior or Inferior Officer, or other in the army of the said Earle of Manchester, or belonging to the said associated Counties, whose pay comes to ten shillings a day or above, shall take but halfe the pay due to him, and shall respit the other halfe upon the Publique faith, untill these unnaturall Warrers be ended; And every Officer or other, that is to have five shillings a day or above, and under ten shillings, shall accept of two thirds of the pay due to him, and shall respit one third part upon the Publique faith, untill these unnaturall Warrers shall be ended. And when there is three moneths pay due to any of them, or more, a Certificate thereof from the said Earle, such two of the said Committee and Commisary, as may give out Warrants for the Issuing out Monyes, shall be sufficient to demand the said Monyes owing upon the Publique faith as aforesaid.

And be it further Ordained, that all the said Captaines both of Horse and foote, are to make good to the said Committee, all the Horses and Horse-Armes, and foote-Arms, that shall be lost, or imbeazel'd by them, or under their commands, unlesse they can make it appeare that they were lost in service against the Enemy; And the said Captaines are enjoyned to give a List under their hands to the said Committee, for the Association of all men, horses, and armes, under their commands; And the said Lords & Commons doe further Ordaine, that all the Monyes collected and not disposed of, or to be Collected upon the fifth and twentieth part of mens estates, or of the last three Moneths pay: and all the monyes or other benefit arising by virtue of any Ordinance, for the third part of the sequestration, settled upon the Earle of Manchester, shall be paid unto the Treasurers appointed as aforesaid, and from thence to be paid againe for the intents and purposes aforesaid.

And

And it is like wise Ordained, that if any of the said Associated Forces, have taken, or shall take free quarter within the said Association, every Officer is then to have but one third part of the present pay due to him by this Ordinance, for so long time as he or they have had, or shall have free quarter.

And every Common foote Souldier, but halfe pay, & every Common horseman, or Trooper, foureteene pence a day, and the residue of their pay, is to be reserved for the payment of their quarters, and to be employed for the purposes aforementioned; And they further Ordaine, that the County of Lincolne, and the County and City of Lincolne, shall send one or two of their Deputy Lieutenants, or Committees trusted by the Parliament, with the Affaires of the said County and City, to the Committee for the said Association to Cambridge, who shall have hereby equall power with any other of the said Committee at Cambridge, while they sit there, or in any other place; And the said Earle and Committee for the said Association, have hereby power given them to call all Collectors, Treasurers, or others, that have or are thought to have any of the said monyes in their hands, to an accompt, and to cause the said money in their hands to be paid unto the Treasurers appointed by this Ordinance; And if any Collectors, Treasurers, or others, shall refuse to accompt, or to pay in the monyes wherewith they are charged, then the said Earle & Committee shall fine them double the sum charged upon them, which if it be not paid within six daies after, the summe is set and notice thereof left at his or their dwelling house, It shall be lawfull to distraine for the same, and if there be not sufficient distresse wherewith to satisfie; Then the said Earle and Committee, may imprison the offender herein, and sequester his estate, untill the money charged, and the fine set, be levied and paid. And it is Ordained, that six pence

pence in the pound, shall be allowed for every summe of money, which shall be collected and paid to the said Treasurer, whereof three pence shall be for the Collectors, and three pence for the Treasurer, And the said Treasurer shall keep a Register Booke, of the several summes received and paid out by them, and shall render an accompt thereof, unto the said Earle and Committee, once every Moneth at least.

And be it lastly Ordained, that the said Earle, Deputy Lieutenants, Committees, Collectors, Assessors, and every one of them, and every other person that shall be aiding and assisting to them, or any of them, in doing any thing by vertue of this Ordinance, shall be defended and saved harmless therein, by authority of both Houses of Parliament.

John Browne Cleric, Parl



Die Lune, 22 Jan. 1643.

Ordinance for Regulating the Vniversity  
of Cambridge, and for removing of  
Scandalous Ministers in the Seven Associ-  
ated Counties.

**W**hereas many Complaints are made  
by the well affected Inhabitants of  
the Associated Counties of Essex;  
Norfolk, Suffolk, Hartford, Cambridge, Hunting-  
ton, and Lincolne, That the Service of the Par-  
liament is retarded, the Enemy strengthened, the  
peoples Soules starved, and their minds diver-  
ted from any care of Gods Cause, by their idle,  
ill affected, and scandalous Clergy, of the Uni-  
versity of Cambridge, and the Associated Coun-  
ties; And that many that would give Evidence  
against such scandalous Ministers, are not able to  
travell to London, nor beare the charges of such a  
Journey: It is Ordained by the Lords & Com-  
mons Assembled in Parliament, That the Earle  
of Manchester shall appoint one or more Com-  
mittees in every County, consisting of such as  
have beene nominated Deputy Lieutenants, or



Committees by any former Ordinance of Parliament, in any of the said Associated Counties, every Committee to consist of ten; Whereof any five or more of them, to sit in any place or places within any the said Associated Counties where the said Earle shall appoynt, with power to put in execution these Instructions following, and in pursuance thereof, to give assistance to the said Committees.

First, They shall have power to call before them, all Provests, Masters, and Fellowes of Colledges, all Students, and Members of the University, and all Ministers in any County of the Association, and all Schoole-masters that are scandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, or Fomentors of this unnatural Warre, or that shall wilfully refuse obedience to the Ordinances of Parliament, or that have deserted their ordinary places of residence, not being employed in the service of the King and Parliament. And they shall have power to send for any Countieſſes, and examine any complaint or testimony against them, upon Oathes of such persons as shall and may be produced to give Evidence against them, and shall certify their Names with the Charge and Proofs against them, to the said Earle of Manchester, and he

(29)  
he shall have power to erect such as he shall  
iudge unfit for their places, and to sequester  
their Estates, Meanes, and Revenues, and to  
dispose of them as he shall thinke fitting, and to  
place other fitting persons in their Roomes, such  
as shall be approved of by the Assembly of Di-  
vines sitting at Westminster.

The Earle of Manchester, or the said Com-  
mittee or Committees shall have power to ad-  
minister the late Covenant taken and to be taken  
of all the three Kingdoms, of England, Scotland,  
and Ireland, to all persons in any of the said  
Associated Counties, and the Isle of Ely, upon  
such Penalties as are or shall be assigned by the  
Parliament in this behalf.

And be it ordained, That the said Earle of  
Manchester shall have power to dispose of a fifth  
part of all such Estates as they shall sequester,  
for the benefit of the Widows and Children of any  
of the aforesaid persons.

The said Committee or Committees shall  
employ a Clerke for the registering of all Warr-  
rants, Orders, Summons, and Ejectments  
made by them: And that they choose some con-  
venient place for the preserving of the Writings  
of this Committee.

That the said Earle of Manchester shall have  
power

power to examine and inhibit all such as  
obstruct the Reformation now endeavoured  
the Parliament and Assembly of Divines.

And be it further declared, That all such  
shall doe any thing in execution of this De-  
nance, shall be kept notwithstanding by the Au-  
thoritie and Power of both Houses of Par-  
liament.

And farther be it ordeined, That the Earle  
of Manchester shall have power to appoint a con-  
venient number, consisting of one or more out of  
every Countie, one out of the Citie of Norwich,  
and one out of the Countie and Citie of Lin-  
colne: Provided, that three of these be Deputie  
Lieutenants to sit at Cambridge, for the better  
ordering of all Businesses of the Association,  
according to Ordinances and Orders of Par-  
liament, and according to his Commission  
granted by his Excellencie the Earle of Essex.  
And that the present Committee for the Asso-  
ciation sitting at Cambridge, shall cease, when the  
Earle of Manchester shall have appointed another  
under his hand and seale.

John Browne Cler. Parliament.

FINIS.

# REFORMATION<sup>s</sup> of Church-Government in <sup>s</sup> SCOTLAND,

Cleered from some mistakes  
and Prejudices,

BY

The COMMISSIONERS

of the Generall Assembly of the Church of  
*Scotland, now at LONDON. namely*

*J. Lord Maitland*

*Mr Hinderson  
Mr Fitzgibbon*



*Mr Gilchrist  
Mr Bayly*

*January. 24. 1643*

Printed for Robert Bostock, dwelling in Pauls Church  
Yard, at the signe of the Kings Head. 1644

REFORMATION

of Church-Government in

SCOTLAND

Cleared from Longstanding  
and Prejudices

THE COMMISSIONERS

of the General Assembly of the Church of  
Scotland, now at London.



Printed for Robert D. Bell, dwelling in Paul Church  
Yard, at the sign of the King's Head. 1644.





Reformation of Church-Government in  
*Scotland*, cleered from some mi-  
 stakes and prejudices.

**W**Hile we, the meanest of many our Brethren, <sup>The occa-  
sion.</sup> for a time separated from our particular callings and stations, and sent forth into this Kingdome for a more publike imployment, are in all humility and patience waiting, what the Lord who is about some great worke in his Church, (for which are raised so great Commotions in these and other Kingdomes of the earth) will be pleased to do for Reformation of Religion; the great worke of the honourable houses of Parliament, and the Reverend assembly of Divines, and for Uniformity in Religion, so much desired by all the godly in the three Kingdomes: Unto which an entrance is made by a solenne League and Covenant. We find our selves bound against the prejudices and mistakings of some, who in the darke are afraid of that which they know not, and suffer their affections of love and hatred to run before their understanding; and against the mis-representations and indirect aspersi-

ons of others, who do so commend their owne way,  
that the reformed Churches thereby suffer dispa-  
ragement ; To give that testimony unto the order  
and government of the reformed Churches, and par-  
ticularly of the Church of *Scotland*, which they doe  
well deserve, and to honour them whom the Lord  
hath so highly honoured, in advancing the Kingdom  
of his Sonne, in the converting and saving of so ma-  
ny soules, and in opposing and suppressing a world  
of corruptions, heresies and Scismes, by his wonder-  
full blessing upon their order and Government.

Cu- in-  
temon.

In this our humble testimony and true relation;  
unto which we are at this time thus necessitate, we  
shall endeavour nothing but a simple and innocent  
manifestation and defence, without desire or inten-  
tion to give the smallest offence to any who feare  
God, love the truth, and desire to walke in truth  
and in love with their Brethren. This our professi-  
on, we are confident will find credit with all that  
know us, and have observed our wayes since our  
comming into this Kingdome, which have been and,  
(so farre as the truth will suffer us) ever shall be, to  
unite and not to divide, to compose rather then to  
create differences ; which we conceive also to be one  
principall end, of the calling of the Assembly of Di-  
vines, and which all the members of the Assembly,  
against all particular interests, are after a speciall  
manner ingaged, to aime at and endeavour.

The

The order and Government of the reformed Churches in the beauty and strength thereof, as it is not hid in a corner, wrapped up in a Myſtery, or covered under a cloud of darkneſſe; but is knowne to the Nations and Kingdomes of the earth, openly profeſſed and practiſed in the eyes of the world, and cleerly ſeen as a City that is ſet on a hill, in the light of the Sunne at noon day: So is it commended and already confirmed by a long tract of time, and the experience of many yeares, and hath beene countenanced from Heaven and bleſſed from above, with the preſervation of the truth and unity of Religion againſt Heresies and errours in Doctrines, Idolatry and corruptions in worſhip, and all ſorts of ſects and ſchiſmes, wherewith it hath been continually aſſaulted: *How goodly are thy Tents O Jacob, and thy Tabernacles O Iſrael, &c.* It hath made the Church of Chriſt terrible as an Army with banners, and like a ſtrong and fenced City, againſt which the Adverſaries have deſpared to prevaile, but by making a breach in this wall, and where they have gained ground or gotten any advantage, either the wall hath not beene built, or being built hath been broken downe, or not vigilantly kepted by the Watchmen.

The Government of the reformed Churches is knowne.

The Inſtruments which the Lord uſed in the bleſſed work of Reformation of the Church of Scotland (we ſpeak not of the reformers of other Churches)

The Reformers of the Church of Scotland.

ches) were not onely learned and holy men, but had somewhat in their calling, gifts and zeale to the glory of God, more then ordinary: Their Adversaries were not able to resist the wiidome and Spirit by which they spoke, some of them had a propheticall Spirit manifested in divers particular and wonderfull predictions, and some of them were honoured to be Martyrs, & sealed the truth with their blood. So that in them, in the people of God converted by them, and in the Reformation brought about by the blessing of God upon their labors, against al the Learning, pride, Policy, and abused power of the time, there was to be seen a representation of the Primitive and Apostolicke times. and a new resurrection from the dead. After them also did the Lord raise up in the Church of *Scotland* many burning and shining lights, men of the same spirit, mighty in converting of soules; walking in the same way, and who communicated their Counsels & kepted correspondence with Divines of other nations, and with the greatest and purest lights in the Church of *England*, in the point of Reformation and setting of Church-government, which at that time was the common study and endeavour of both, and wherein they and their Successors continued, till the times of defection, which made an unhappy interruption of the worke. What men are like to doe in after times we cannot foresee; but we have not seene or heard

heard of any to this day, farrer from partiality and prejudice in the matters of God, then their wayes witnesse them to have beene; and were they now living we beleewe there would be none in the reformed Churches, so far swayed with partiality or prejudice, that would deny them this testimony.

They had no other rule and patterne of Reformation, but the word of God, and the practice of the Apostolicke Churches in the Word. All the books of God are perfect, the book of life, the book of nature, the book of providence, and especially the booke of Scripture, which was dyted by the Holy Ghost to be a perfect directory to all the Churches; unto the second comming of Jesus Christ; but so that it presupposeth the light and law of nature, or the rules of common prudence, to be our guide in circumstances or things locall, temporall and personall, which being *Ecclasiastico Politica*, are common to the Church with civill societies, and concerning which, the word giveth generall rules to be universally and constantly observed by all persons, in all times and places: Of things of this kind a godly and wise Divine giveth two rules: One is, that the Physician cannot by sending his letter to the Patient appoint the dyet and bath, the pulse must be toucht, and as it is in the proverbiall speech, *gladiatorem oportet in arena capere consilium*. The other is, that in things of this kind, when the change is not to the

The rule  
and pat-  
terne of  
their Re-  
formati-  
on.



better, it is both without and against reason to make a change; without reason, because when the change is made unto that which is but as good, the one and the other in reason are equall: Against reason, because the change it selfe in such a case, is an hinderance to Edification, favioureth of the love of Innovation, and derogateth to the authority which maketh the Constitution.

Their  
certainty  
in matters  
of Religi-  
on.

What they had once received, not upon probable grounds in way of conjecture, but upon the warrant of the word, and by the teaching of the spirit with certainty of faith, that they resolved to hold fast and did hate every false way contray unto it. They did not in the matters of Religion rest upon *A Scepticall* or *Pyrrhonian* uncertainty (the charge of the Orthodox Divines against the tenets of Arminians and Socinians) which keepeth the minde uncertaine and unstable, is a fountaine of perpetuall alterations in the Church of God, an open door to all heresies and schismes to enter by, and a ground of despairing to bring questions and controversies to a finall issue and determination. And for us, as upon the one part, wee not only conceive that no man attaineth so full assurance of faith, in any matter of religion, but hee may receive encrease of his faith, & therefore should always have his mind open & ready to receive more light from the word and Spirit of God: but also do ingenuously acknowledge

ledge ( as wee have formerly professed ) that we are most willing to heare and learne from the word of God, what needeth further to bee reformed in the Church of Scotland: Yet God forbid, that we should never come to any certainty of perswasion, or that we should ever be learning, and never come to the knowledg of the truth; we ought to be resolute and unmoveable in so far as we have attained; & this we take to be the ground, as of other practises, so also of Covenants and oaths, both assertory and promissory, in matters of Religion.

As they held it not sufficient, to receive or retain some such practises, as other reformed Churches judged warrantable; for thus they shold have rested upon some few principles & beginnings of reformation, & might have differed as much in other things from the reformed Churches, as they agreed in some things with the, so can it not be satisfactory, that any Church should only practise some things, universally received in the reformed Churches. (1) All Christian Churches although very different in ordinances and practises, yet do agree in some things, (2) If our desire of Vniformity with other reformed Churches, and the reverend esteeme wee have of them, draw us to conforme to them in some things; upon the same reason we ought to joyne in all things wherein they do all agree amongst themselves, (3) Differences about Negatives and the denying of profession and pra-

Their  
consent  
with o-  
ther Re-  
formed  
Chur-  
ches.

practise in other matters wherein they are all unanimous and uniforme, may prove no lesse dangerous and destructive, then differences about affirmatives. The Arrians, Socinians, and many others do err dangerously in denying some positive points, and received principles of the doctrine of the reformed Churches concerning the person of Christ and his offices. The Antinomians also (if we should mention them) do also agree with us in the principles of Grace, but in their superstructures and conclusions, runne in a way destructive to the doctrine & deductions of the Apostolick and reformed Churches, and to the principles received by themselves (4) Such Churches, as make profession of differences only in negatives, or in denying some practises received in the reformed Churches, have received and do hold some positive practises of their owne, which the reformed Churches do not allow, and which to them are negative. Of this (would we suffer our selves to descend into particulars) we might give divers known instances; now if they do not allow of the reformed Churches, in so far as they do not admit of these their positive practises, how shall they thinke that the reformed Churches can allow them in the like: for the rule is, *wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy selfe, for thou that judgest dost the same things.*

They are  
not to be  
called Cal  
vinians.

They did honour *Luther, Calvin*, and many others whether their Predecessors or contemporaries, who  
har

had heart or hand especially in an eminent degree,  
in the blessed worke of reformation : for their dire-  
ction they made use of the light which such notable  
servants of Iesus Christ, did hold forth, in doctrine &  
discipline, and in all thankfulness they did desire and  
wish, that their names might be had in eternall re-  
membrance : Nor was it possible that so great an alte-  
ration as the corrupt state of the Church required  
could be effected, and not cary some remembrance of  
the instruments; but for this to call us *Calvinians* & the  
reformed Churches, *Calvinian reformed Churches*, is to  
disgrace the true Churches of Christ, & to simbolize  
with the Papists, who call themselves the Catholicke  
Church, & hold the rule delivered by *Hierome* against  
the *Luciferians* : *if any where we finde men professing Christi-  
anity, called by the particular names of men, know them to bee  
the Synagogue of Antichrist, and not the Church of Christ.*  
The separation may bee well allowed to bee called  
*Brownists*, and others from the matter wherein they  
erre, and part from all, not onely the reformed, but  
Christian Churches, as the *Monothelites* of old, & the  
*Anabaptists* now, may bear their own names. They who  
apprehend any danger in names ( as there is a great  
deale of danger in them ) ought not to appropriate  
unto their own opinion, that which is common to al  
the reformed Churches, nor to joyne with Papists in  
giving names of Sects unto the reformed Churches; &  
they who conceive no evill in so doing, ought not to  
offend, that names are given unto them, especially

since their differences from the reformed Churches must be designed under some name and notion, and in this case charity commands the mildest names, such as hint most clearly at the difference and are farthest from reproach, to be attributed unto them, as most discriminative and tolerable.

Their Reformation was not framed to State ends,

Nothing was farrer from their thoughts & intentions, then to frame in their own forge a Lesbian rule answerable to any particular form of civill polity or complyable with state ends. That they looked with singlenesse of mind to the rule of Scripture, we give these three evidences (1) The great pains they tooke in searching the will of God, & after they had found it, their grievous sufferings from the civill authority in defence thereof, of both which afterward in the own place (2) The resiles objection & continuall opposition of politick men & Court Sycophants against presbyterial government, as incōpatible with Monarchy & their manners, (3) And the necessary assertion of the true policy of the Church by Divines in both kingdoms (between whom there was no notable difference) demonstrating that it was in it self unalterable, because divine, and yet complyable with every lawful kind of humane policy and civill government, and able to keep a whole Kingdom or state in a right & sure way of Religion. Our chiefeſt reformers, had indeed their education in other Churches, which was the goodnesse of God to them and us: there did they see examples of reformation, & conversed with other

The Reformers not by-asked but benefited by education.

reformers,



reformers, by whom they were taught from the word in the wayes of God, & thence did they bring ( as the Romans their laws of old from Greece and other Nations ) models of Church-government , that comparing one with another, they might fix upon that which was builded upon the foundation of the Apostles: Like as we accompt it no small happines that we have been educated in the Church of *Scotland*, and are acquainted with the practise of Church-governement there, which giveth us much light and confidence against such scruples and doubtings as are powerfull enough to suspend the assent of others, who by reason of their education in other Churches, are strangers unto it. Nor do we know a reason why educatiō in sound doctrine & true worship, should be accompted a matter of thanksgiving to God, and yet should glory in this, that we are not by educatiō ingaged in any one form of discipline and Church-government, but left to our selves to be moulded by our own private thoughts.

They intended & designed from the beginning, the government of the Church by Assemblies and Presbyteries, although they could not attain that perfection at first in the infancy of reformation, but gave place to necessity, which in such cases is universall, & in this they followed the example and practise of the Churches planted by the Apostles, which if not at first, yet afterward were of greater number in one City, then did or could ordinarily assemble in one place for the worship of God, & therefore had a plurality of Pastors

They intended  
presbyteri-  
ell govern-  
ment from the  
beginning.

and Officers, which made up a common Presbytery for governing the whole. They set up such officers in the Church, as were both necessary and sufficient for the Church: *Pastors, Teachers, ruling Elders, and Deacons*. They did not permit such as are called Lay-men and intended to continue such, to preach or prophesie in the Congregation, nor did they admit of any other ruling Elders, but such as are solemnly elected & ordained, although they do maintain themselves upon their own means, and attend their own particular callings, which is not incompatible with their office, especially they being appointed in a number competent and proportionable to the number of the people and quantity of the Congregation; And their Ecclesiasticall charge, not being pastorall, nor requiring any great meditation or study apart, but such as they may easily attend without neglect of their owne particular affaires.

What  
they give  
unto the  
Magistrate

What shalbe rendred unto the Magistrate by others whose particular tenets are not yet knowne either to the Church or Magistrate, unlesse it be in a hid and secret way, unto which we are not privy, we cannot determine: but the doctrine of the reformed Churches concerning the honour & obedience due to the Magistrate is openly known by their confessions of faith and long continued practises, and this much we know that the principles both of civill & Church-governmet, are laid out in Scripture, & therefore the one cannot be contrary to the other, or they inconsistent betweene

tween themselves. Nor do we measure the power of the Magistrate by the principles of Presbyteriall government, but both of the by the word, & therefore deny not unto the Magistrate what God giveth them; and more then this, dare we not professe for any respect to our selves, or to the forme of Ecclesiasticall government professed by us: how much, and for what ends, the Pagans and Infidels of old, the Papists, Prelats, & Arminians of late, have laboured to make the way of Christ hatefull to Princes and Magistrates, is too well known and hath bin bitterly felt; yet God hath cursed this policy in the end. There may be good reason to expresse our judgement of this or other points of duty from Scripture: but to avouch when we are not challenged, and that only in the generall by way of comparison, that we ascribe more to the Magistrate, then the reformed Churches do, they being faithfull to their own principles of Ecclesiastical government, may suffer a harder construction, then we our selves would willingly undergoe, or put upon the intentions of men who seek not their owne things, but the things of Iesus Christ.

As the blessed instruments of reformation proceeded by no other rule but the word of God: so did they with great judgment, and learning, which they had in a measure above others, examine and frame all things diligently and exactly according to the rule; & although the reformers in England were either altogether, or for the greater part taken up with the Do-

Their diligent search for true Church government, and the good hand of God upon them.

doctrine: yet in the Church of *Scotland* it was otherwise: after the doctrine was established, which was speedily done, they were exercised in conferences & assemblies, with debating the matters of discipline and government above the space of 20. years, which endured much opposition from authority, from worldly men, and from the adversaries of the truth, both Prelaticall on the one hand, and upon the other hand Separatists, of which sort some came into *Scotland* from *England*, which was unto them a whetstone to quicken them, and to make them the more circumspect and exact in their way, which lay in the middle betwixt Episcopacy upon the one hand, & popular confusion on the other. It pleased the Lord whose presence and blessing they sought after in these dayes with frequent prayer and humiliation both in private and in the publique nationall Assemblies, so to assist and lead them in all truth; that the Church of *Scotland* was honoured from abroad, both from *England* & other Nations, with the testimony of such a Reformation, as other Churches accounted to be the greatest happiness upon earth, & when they were wishing after a Reformation, they made it the measure of their wishes. We would willingly shun comparisons, were we not brought upon this straine: We do upon very good reason judge the Church of *England* in the midst of her Ceremonies, to have been a true Church, & the ministry thereof, notwithstanding the many blemishes & corruptions cleaving unto it, to have bin a true ministry, and shal ne-

ver deny unto them that praise, whether in debating  
 controversies with Papists, or in practical Divinity  
 for private Christians, which they do most justly de-  
 serve. Upon the other part, we are neither so ignorant  
 nor so arrogant, as to ascribe to the Church of Scot-  
 land such absolute purity and perfection, as hath not  
 need or cannot admit of further Reformation. Yet that  
 there is a wide difference betwixt the one & the other  
 acknowledged also in the cōmon Covenant; We bring  
 two famous witnesses from the Church of England to  
 prove: The one is *Brightman*; *Loath would I be* (saith  
 he, speaking of the Church of Scotland) *to provoke any*  
*man to envy, or to grieve him with my words: Yet this I*  
*must say, there is no place where the Doctrine soundeth*  
*more purely, the worship of God is exercised more incor-*  
*ruptly; where more faithfull diligence of the Pastor doth*  
*flourish; or more free or willing obedience is given by the*  
*people, nor yet where there is greater reverencing of the*  
*whole Religion amongst all orders. And afterwards; Nei-*  
*ther doth it onely keep the Doctrine of salvation free from*  
*corruption, but it doth also both deliver in writing & ex-*  
*ercise in practice that sincere māner of government wher-*  
*by men are made partakers of salvation,* Revel. of the A-  
 pocal. cap. 37. The other is *Cartwright*; yea, the Scottish  
 Nation, which were some yeers behind us in the profession  
 of the Gospell, the first day almost that they received the  
 truth, did by many degrees in the way of purity outstrip  
 us. These 2 witnesses, unto which we might add many  
 other from the reformed Churches in other Nations,



beare testimony that there is no such thing in the  
 Church of *Scotlād*, as might prove her to be no Church  
 or bar Cōmunion in worship with her as the Liturgy,  
 Ceremonies and Prelacy in the Church of *England*, or  
 that the corruptions of the one & the other are of the  
 same kind, equally destructive of the essence of a Church  
 and equally impeditive of Communion and worship.  
 Al visible Churches, which have bin, or shall be at any  
 time on earth, consist of persons, good and bad, sheep  
 & Goats, wheat and tares, such as walk Christianly &  
 such as walk inordinatly: Which therefore must also be  
 the condition of the Church of *Scotland*, yet the order  
 of the Church, admitteth not either ignorāt or open-  
 ly prophane & scandalous persons, to the participati-  
 on of the Lords supper: If any Pastor & particular El-  
 dership be negligēt in their duty, it is their fault, who  
 are to beare their own guiltinesse, & ought not to be  
 imputed to the order of the Church, which stādeth in  
 force agaist it. We maybe very cōfident, that the godly  
 people, who did transplant thēselves out of this Iland,  
 (the fame of whose piety & zeal shall never suffer de-  
 traction or the smalest diminutiō frō our thoughts or  
 words) might have lived in the Church of *Scotland* in-  
 joying the pure Ordināces of God, with peace in their  
 consciences and comfort to their souls, & would have  
 willingly come into *Scotland*, when they went into  
*New-England*, could they have bin free of the usurpation & ty-  
 ranny of Prelates & the Preliticall Party, which at that time did  
 reigne and rage in that Kingdom vexing the godly ministry and  
 people there, with many and bitter sufferings.

The two extreames of the true forme of Church-Government which standeth in the middle way betwixt Popish and prelaticall tyrannie, and Brounisticall and popular Anarchie, were contrary one to another, and have their own degrees of tyrannie or Anarchie in themselves, which is the cause of their subdivisions, factions, and differences amongst themselves: but both sides agree, and strongly joine in opposing the true Government, which standing constantly, and without variation betweene the one, and the other is contrary to both. This is the true cause (nor could it bee otherwise) that on what hand the invasion was hottest, there the defence was strongest. Against Prelacie which had many friends, and therefore made many enemies to Presbyteries, the Presbyteriall power and pens were long pleading: No sooner is the Prelaticall party by the power and blessing of God begun to be subdued in this lland: but ariseth unexpectedly, the opposition on the other hand, waiting the opportunitie, stronger then it was before, which moved some of our Divines of late, to write on this hand in defence of the government of the reformed Churches, as others had done before them in other Churches: In *France Beza*, and against *Morellius Sadeel*. Two Nationall Synods also of the reformed Churches in *France*, the one at *Orleans* in the yeare 1561. Another at *Rothel* 1571. And in all the reformed Churches, governed by Presbyteries, and

*The defence  
therof a-  
ginst ad-  
versaries on  
bez's hands.*

Assemblies, the positive grounds of the Government, are laid open, which worke equally against Adversaries on both sides, and have beene applyed against them *pro re nata* as they did arise or shew themselves. If so much have not beene written upon one hand, as the other in a polemical and Analectick way, let it be attributed unto the adversary, which was but obscure and weake, and from whom small danger was apprehended: it being laid for a common ground by them all, that where a whole Nation is converted to the Christian faith, every particular Church is not to be left to it selfe, as if it were alone in a Nation, but that Christ had provided a way, and there is a necessitie of a common Nationall Government, to preserve all the Churches, in Unitie and Peace.

*Their sufferings for the true Church government.*

It is the Will of God, and hath beene alwayes the constant course of Divine providence, that when his servants have beene diligent in searching the truth, and zealous by professing, and preaching to hold it forth unto others, that they confirme and seale the truth, which they have beleevd and professed with their confession, and suffering. The Church of Scotland, had many Confessors: diverse Pastors brought before the Lords of Councell, the High Commission, Diocesan Synods, were removed from their places, deprived of all the means of their livelihood; some confined, others imprisoned, a third sort brought

brought into *England*, whence some of them were never suffered to returne, all of them for the Government of the Church. Others for the same cause were proceeded against by the criminall Judge, condemned of Treason, sentenced to death, and after long imprisonment, before and after the sentence, could finde no other mercy, but perpetuall banishment, wherein the greater part of them ended their dayes, without any Congregation, or company of their owne Nation, rich or poore to comfort them. So many of these witnesses, as were suffered to live in their owne Land, did not undergoe any voluntary exile : but in much poverty and affliction, went up and downe, teaching and confirming the good people, and waiting for a spring-time, wherein the face of God might againe shine upon His Church and (to use their owne expreffion) some buds might arise out of the stump of Church government left in the earth. Had they at that time abandoned the poore oppressed Church, when they were put from their places, and deprived of their liberty, and had carried away with them, such of the people, as were of their minde, they had (if we would judge according to ordinary providence, and the course of second causes) opposed the poore desolated Church for a prey to Episcopall oppression, and made the case of Religion in that Kingdome desperate : Or if they should have returned upon a revolution of extraordinary

providence, they would have preferred the sufferings of their Brethren left behind them in the midst of the fierie tryall, unto their owne exile, and would have been loath to have impeded, or retarded the late Reformation, with any thing they had brought with them from abroad : so many as returned from constrained banishment, having in all Unitie of minde, and heart joyned in the worke of Reformation.

*Their ex-  
cusing of  
that true  
Church go-  
vernment  
for w<sup>ch</sup> it  
they had  
done and  
suffered so  
much.*

The Church of Scotland, as all other reformed Churches hath used the power of the Keyes, and Church-censures of all sorts, especially the gravest of excommunication, with such sharpnesse, and severitie, and yet with such caution, and moderation, as it hath beene very powerfull and effectuell to preserve the Name of God, from being blasphemed, the Church and people of God from contagion, and the Delinquents brought under censure, from destruction; which are the ends proposed by them in executing the censures of the Church, and where such scandalls arise, whether in matter of opinion or practise, as are apt to make the Name of God to be blasphemed, are dangerous for the Church, and wast the Consciences of the sinners themselves, being accompanied with obstinacie, and contempt of Ecclesiasticall Authoritie, they doe apply this last remedy, according to the order prescribed by Christ, against scandalous transgressors. To limit the censure of excommunication, in matter of opinion to the com-  
mon



mon and uncontroverted principles, and in the matter of manners to the common, and universall practises of Christianitie, and in both to the parties known light, is the dangerous doctrine of the Arminians, and Socinians, openeth a wide dore, and proclaimeth libertie to all other practises and errors, which are not fundamentall, and universally abhorred by all Christians, and tendeth to the overthrow of the Reformed Religion: which we wish all sound and sober spirits to abstaine from, least it render them and their profession, suspected of some such opinions, and practises, as in charitie we judge to be farre from their minds and wayes.

Two maine objections are made against the principles and practise of the order & government of the reformed Churches, for which the *Church* and Kingdom of *Scotland*, have done and suffered so much of old and of late. One is, that there is no need of the Authoritative power of Presbyteries and Synods, and that the exhortation of particular *Churches* one to another, the Protestation of one against another, and the withdrawing of communion, one from another, may be a sufficient remedy, and no lesse effectually against all offences, then excommunication it selfe: especially if the Magistrate shall vouchsafe his assistance and interpose his authority, for strengthening the sentence of Non-communication?

*This government necessary for Churches living together.*

To this we answer.

1. That this Objection supposeth a case, which

hath not beene found in the Church of *Scotland*, for the space of above fourescore yeares, and which we beleeeve was never heard of in any of the reformed Churches, except those of the separation : the pronouncing of non-communication or Excommunication against a whole Church. Our excommunication hath been executed, and but seldome against particular members, never against a whole Church, and we thinke never shall be, and therefore this imaginarie feare of that which never falleth forth, is not considerable : Rules are made for ordinary and usuall cases.

2. What shall be the remedy, where the censure is mutuall, and two or more Churches mutually protest, and pronounce the sentence of non-Communion one against other : unlesse there bee a common Presbyterie, or Synod made up of the whole, which may decide the controversie, and give order unto the severall Churches. This non-communication may prove a meane of division, rather than union.

3. In this Exhortation, Protestation, and non-Communion, there is no more to be found, then one particular member may doe against another, which yet is acknowledged to be insufficient for removing of offences, unlesse the authoritie of the Church, of which both of them be members, shall interveine : Were it in the power of particular members to submit, or not submit, as they please, there would be as  
great

great difference and division amongst members, as now there is amongst Churches.

4. What shall be done if the Magistrate be negligent or care for none of those things? or if his authoritie cannot be obtained? or if hee be of another Religion, and foment the difference for his own politicke ends? hath not the wisdom of the Sonne of God provided remedies in the Church for all the internall necessities of the Church, and constitute it a perfect body within it selfe.

5. By what probabilitie can it be made to appeare to any Rationall man and indifferent minde, that no authoritie shall be as valide as authoritie against the obstinate, that *via admonitionis, & requisitionis*, is equall with *via citationis, & publicæ autoritatis*: There cannot be so much as triall and examination of the offence without authoritie, vnlesse the partie be willing to appeare: that perswasion, and Jurisdiction, that the delivering over to Satan, and thereby striking the conscience with the terrour of God, by the authoritie of Iesus Christ which hath the promise of a speciall and strong ratification in heaven, and any other Ecclesiasticall way whatsoeuer, which must be inferiour to this, and depend only upon perswasion on the one part, and free will on the other, can be supposed to be a like efficacious. No man will say; but in civill matters, it is one thing to have adoe with our neighbour, who hath no more authority

erty over us, then we have over him; and another thing to have to doe with civill power which hath authority over both.

*This Govern-  
ment  
agreeth  
with the li-  
berty and  
equality of  
particular  
Churches.*

The other Objection is: That by this authoritie and order of Government, one Church hath power over another, which is contrarie to that libertie and equalitie Christ, hath endevved his Churches with, and is no other but a new Prelaticall dominion set over the Churches of Christ? To this we answer.

1. That wee are very farre from imposing or acknowledging any such collaterall power of one particular Church over another, Nay not of the greatest in all respects whatsoever over the smallest: for God hath made them equall one to another. The power which we maintaine, is aggregative of the Officers of many congregations over the particular members of their Corporation: even as a member of the Naturall body, is not subject to another; but each one of them to the whole Man consisting of them all: And as one Member of Parliament, one Counsellor, or to goe lower, one member of a Company, is not subject to another; but every one to the whole Colledge: The same may be said of townes and cities; so is it with particular congregations combined in one Presbyterie. All the Reformed Churches acknowledge the Independencie of one particular Church upon another.

2. It is as miserable a mistake to compare Presbyteries

byteries and Prelates together: for the courts of Prelates are altogether forraigne and extrinsecall to the congregations over which they rule, and then indeed the Metropolitan Church vsurpeth and tyrannizeth over other Churches: but the power of Presbyteries is intrinsecall and naturall, they being constitute of the Pastors and Elders of the particular congregations over which they are set: So that another without themselves doth not bear rule over them; but all of them together by common consent doerule over every one, which is a most milde and free form of Church-government: it being no more contrary to the liberty of a particular Church, to be ruled by a common Collegiat, Presbytery, or Ecclesiastick Senate, then it is for a Member of a particular congregation, to be ruled by his own particular Eldership. 3. Were this way of government aswell known by experience unto others, as it is unto us, it would be accounted rather *Subsidium*, then *Dominium*, & would be looked at, rather as auxiliary to particular Ministers & Elderships, then authorative over the, especially since they neither ordaine nor depose Ministers, they discern no censure, nor sentence of Excommunication of any Member without the knowledge and consent of the congregation which is particularly concerned therein: whatsoever their authority be, the Minister and particular Eldership are advised, assisted, and strengthened rather then commanded, enioyned, or forced: which the particular Churches should much rather chuse, then through want of counsell and assistance, suffer themselves.

E



selves to run rashly upon Deposition or Excommunication, and afterward either be brought by the neighbouring Churches to the publike Confession of their error, which lesseneth their authority afterward, or to have the sentence of non-Communion pronounced against them, which must be the cause of Schisme or scandall.

*This Government  
usefull and  
beneficiall  
to all sorts  
of persons.*

So much for the present have we said, not for confutation; but meere for justifying our owne, and other Reformed Churches against such misrepresentings & mistakings, as in matters of Religion are too frequent in this place at this time, to the perverting and abusing of simple and unstable mindes which will never be brought to a consistence and unity, without this true order and government of the Church, and the blessing of God from heaven upon his own ordinance. Were Magistrates and civill powers acquainted with the power thereof, they would finde their authoritie increased, their work more easie, and their places more comfortable thereby. Such as are most adverse to this order and government (if they allow no materiall difference in doctrine, worship, or practise) might enjoy their peace, and all the comforts of their Ministry, and profession under it, without controulment, from that authoritative power which they so much apprehend. The Church of England which God hath blessed with so much learning and piety, by this Reformation and Uniformitie with other Reformed Churches, which all of us have solemnely sworn and subscribed, sincerely, really, and constantly through the grace of God to endeavour in our severall places and callings, should bee a praise in the Earth.

6

*H. M. Ireland  
Charles I  
K*

HIS MAJESTIES  
SPEECH  
DELIVERED THE  
Twenty second of January,  
1643.  
AT  
OXFORD.



Printed At OXFORD,  
By Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University.  
1643.

HIS MAJESTIES

SPEECH

DELIVERED THE

Twenty second of January

1643

AT

OXFORD



Printed at OXFORD

By E. Smith, Printer to the University.

1643

**HIS  
MAJESTIES  
SPEECH**

**Delivered the twenty second  
of January, 1643.**

**My Lords and Gentlemen,**

**W**HEN I consider your  
publique Intrests and  
Conceraments in the  
happinesse and honour  
of this Nation, and your  
particular sufferings in  
this Rebellion, for your  
affection & Loyalty to Me, I must look up-  
on you as the most competent Considerers

and Counsellours how to Manage and improve the Condition We are all in, for sure our condition is so equall, that the same violence hath oppressed Vs all.

I have therefore called you together to be witnesses of my Actions; and privy to My Intentions; and certainly if I had the least thought, disagreeing with the happinesse and security of this Kingdome, I would not advise with such Counsellors, and I doubt not but your concurrence with Me will so farre prevaile over the hearts and understandings of this whole Kingdom, (who must looke upon you as persons naturally and originally trusted by and for them) that it will be above the reach and uttance of those who have hitherto had too great an influence upon the People, to discredit my most entire Actions, and sincere Promises: you will be the best Witnesses for the one, and the best for the other.

Very many of you can beare Meo witness with what unwilligesse I suffered My



My self first to take up these defense  
 Armes; indeed with so great, that I was  
 almost in the power of those who in  
 two or three Battails; have sufficiently informed  
 the World how tender they have been of  
 the safety of My Person; I foresaw not  
 only the rage and oppression which  
 would every day brake out upon My  
 Subjects; as the malice of these ill men  
 increased, & their purposes were detected;  
 but also the great Inconveniences My best  
 Subjects would suffer even by my owne  
 Army, raised and kept for their preserva-  
 tion and protection; for I was not so ill a  
 Souler, as not to foresee how impossible  
 it was to keep a strict discipline, while I was to  
 struggle with so many defects and necessi-  
 ties; & I assure you the sense I have of their  
 sufferings, who deserve well of Me, by  
 My Forces, hath been a greater griefe to  
 Me then any thing for My owne particular.  
 My hope was; that either by strictness on  
 My part, or Repentance on theirs, I should  
 have put a stop to this great  
 A 3 in France. Storme.

forme, But Guilt and Despaire have made  
 these Men more wicked, then if imagine  
 they at first intended to be, for instead of re-  
 moving and reconciling these bloody di-  
 stractions, and restoring Peace to this lan-  
 guishing Country, they have invited a  
 Forraigne Power to invade this Kingdom,  
 and that in your names, and Challenge this  
 Invasion from them as a debt to the Com-  
 mon-Wealth. You (My Lords) have, like  
 your selves (as good Patriots) exprest  
 your dissent, and vindicated your selves  
 from that imputation: and I doubt not but  
 you (Gentlemen) will let your Countries  
 know, how farre you are from desiring  
 such Assistance, and how absolute and pe-  
 remptory a breach this raising of Armes of  
 My Scots Subjects is of that Pacification,  
 which was so lately and solemnely made  
 by you, and can intend nothing but a Con-  
 quest of you and your Lawes: I shall send  
 you all the advertisements I have of this  
 busines which is threatned from Scotland,  
 and what is already acted from thence;

and shall desire your speedy advice and assistance what is to be said or done, both with reference to this, and that Kingdome. Our ends being the same, I am sure there will be no other difference in the way, then what upon debate and right understanding will be easily adjusted. Let our Religion (in which We are all most nearly concerned, and without care of which We must not looke for God's blessing) be vindicated and preserved; Let My Honour and Rights (which you find to have an inseparable relation with your owne interests) be vindicated and restored; Let your Liberties, Properties, Priviledges (without which I would not be your King) be secured and confirmed, and there is nothing you can advise me to, I will not meet you in, and I doubt not We shall together inform Posterity, how much our trust and confidence in each other, is a better expedient for the Peace and preservation of the Kingcom, then Feares & Jealousies.

I shall keep you no longer from confes-  
 ting together; then in telling you, that I have  
 prepared the places for your Meetings, to  
 which I desire you to repair this night,  
 assuring you, That I will be always ready  
 to receive any thing from you; admitting  
 you to Me, or comming to you My Self;  
 whensoever you shall desire. And so God  
 direct you the best way.

**FINIS.**

(272)

7

...the World of no (372) ...  
...Trent taken by Sir John Gull ...  
...of the L. Byron ...  
...of dangerous consequences ...  
...to betray Alsbury made known and prevented



**Mercurius Civicus**

*KPP London*

**LONDON**

**INTELLIGENCER**

**Truth impartially related from  
thence to the whole Kingdome**

**to prevent mis-information.**

**From This day January 18. to This day January 23. 1643.**



London was made the last weeke by severall hands of a Letter from the pretended L. Byron to the Marq. of Newcastle, which being intercepted by Sir W. Brouncker, was by him sent to the Honourable house of Commons, since which

time a perfect copy of the said Letter comming unto my hands, I conceived it worthy the perusall and observation, and have here imparted

M m





parted it for more particular satisfaction to the World, as a more full demonstration of the barbarous inhumanity of the said Sir John Byron, who about the beginning of this Parliament was constituted by His Majesty Lieutenant of the Tower of London: and how fitting a man he was for a place of so great trust and consequence, and of so much concernment to this City. I shall referre to the consideration of any moderate or judicious man, when he shall ponder not onely the cruelty of his late action, but his superbiuous and unseemly gloriation and seeming justification of so horrid and bloody attempt, not yet paralleld in this Kingdome since the beginning of these unnaturall warres. For such observations as I have collected from some particular expressions in the said Letter I have presented them in the forme of Marginall Notes, that so it may more clearely and conspicuously appeare to what passage in the said Letter the Annotation doth refer.

Sir John Byrons Letter: Subscribed,  
To His Excellency the Marques of Newcastle,  
these:

Although this Lord had need  
seeke any imployment to get a  
fortune to support his new Ho-  
nour, yet there is no hope he  
should obtaine it by his valour,  
seeing in this Letter there ap-  
peare so many knowne badges  
of cowardize, as lying, brag-  
ging, and cruelty.

(a) He did wisely to say in ge-  
neral that Brereton was accus-  
tomed to run away; for it is well  
known that the time or place no  
man can name that Sir William  
Brereton did turn his backe up-  
on his enemy. Nothing needs  
be spoken in his behalfe, for all  
his actions speake him to be a  
man of honour, integrity, and  
valour.

My Lord,

I Have already dispatched two  
Messengers to your Excellency,  
to give you an account of my  
proceedings in these parts, I am  
now at Sambich. I have thought  
fit to acquaint your Excellency that  
Brereton for the reliefe of Namp-  
wich had so prevailed with the  
Lancashire men as to draw thence  
1500 Foote, which I having notice  
of, immediately marched towards  
him, but no sooner came within  
sight of him (a) but immediately,  
according to his custome he ranne  
away

any in great confusion; so that  
 those forces are so dispersed that  
 they are not like to meet together  
 again; (b) and I doubt not by Gods  
 assistance in a short time to clear this  
 Country (if your Excellencies Forces  
 advance towards Stopford) to be  
 able to set footing in Lancashire.  
 The Rebels had possessed themselves  
 of a Church at Bartumley, but we  
 presently beat them forth of it. (c) I  
 put them all to the sword; which  
 I finde to be the best way to proceed  
 with these kind of people, for mercy  
 to them is cruelty. I am my Lord,

(b) This victory was the sur-  
 prise of a quarter of Lancashire  
 men.

(c) Such actions and resolu-  
 tions were fitter for a Caniball  
 then a Christian, a Gentleman,  
 or a Souldier; but I hope that  
 now when our men see what  
 they must trust to from this new  
 Lord, and the rest of the popish  
 party, they will resolve to runne  
 the greatest hazzards rather  
 then to fall into their hands.

Your Excellencies most  
 humble servant,  
 1643. JOHN BIRON.

Your Excellency will be pleased to excuse  
 this Paper which in all this place will  
 afford.

But that this Inhumane monster may see that there is a divine pro-  
 vidence that over-rules all his actions, and that notwithstanding this  
 his insulting and vaunting Letter before any victory obtained, there  
 is a power above his that can over-power the power of the greatest  
 Monarchs or commanders upon earth; we had certaine intelligence  
 this weeke of divers great repulses given to his forces which laid sieges  
 to *Nantwich*, some of which are already imparted; but by reason  
 that the intelligence came not from any Commander in the action,  
 but onely by Letters from *Coventry* and other places, the particulars  
 could not be so perfectly informed as we have since information of:  
 For by a Letter under *Colonel Mittons* owne hand, which was  
 brought into Towne on Tuesday last, Janu. 23. and by severall Letters  
 from *Stafford*, dated Janu. 18. it was advertised, That Sir *Ni-*

*abolus Biron* Governour of *Wetcheſter* (Uncle to the ſaid pretended Lord) having heard of the repulſe of his forces from *Namptwich* with great loſſe, advanced with a party of horſe and foot from *Wetcheſter* to ſtrengthen the ſiege; and coming unto a Towne called *Elſmore*, neere *Colonell Maitons* Quarters; the ſaid Col. *Maiton* drew forth his Regiment, and fell upon the enemies forces who were in that Towne, killed about 60. of them in the place, tooke the ſaid *Sir Nicholas Biron*, with Serjeant-major *Willm* a conſiderable Commander belonging to the Cavaliers garriſon at *Shrewſbury*; and his brother, Captaine *Oſſey*, Captaine *Hutton*, Captaine *Dixon*, and ſeverall other Captaines, with an hundred ſeverall Officers, 850 Horſe and Armes, 8 double barrells of Powder, 750 weight of Match, 3 pieces of Ordnance, all which he brought ſafe to *Stafford*. It is alſo advertiſed, that within 3. daies after this victory obtained, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* and *Sir William Brevintons* forces joyned together in *Staffordſhire*, and were in all about 8000 horſe and foot, and advanced from thence towards *Namptwich*, whereof the enemy who lay before it having intelligence, raiſed their ſiege and are gone from thence to *Wetcheſter*.

We ſhould, according to our former cuſtome, upon the advance of any Trained Bands from the City, have begunne our intelligence with a relation of their ſeverall proceedings and actions; and particularly of the trained Bands & Auxiliaries which lately went forth under the command of the truly magnanimous Serjeant-Major General *Browne*; the occaſion of whole being ſo long before their acceſſe unto *Sir William Waller*, is not through any neglect or remiſſneſſe of the ſaid Major-Generall, or any of his Officers, as ſome have without colour or probability fictitiouſly and ſcandalouſly reported upon ſome weake and groundleſſe ſurmises of their owne; but by reaſon that the high wayes are altogether unpaſſable, either for Carriages of Ordnance and Ammunition, or for the foot ſouldiers to march in, which hath bene the meanes of detaining them for ſome time at *Gifford* in *Surry*: As alſo for that the ſaid Major-Generalls Commiſſion limits him onely to *Middleſex* and *Surry*, unleſſe *Sir William Waller* deſire him, & himſelfe and his Field-Officers approve thereof. Notwithſtanding, though the intent of his advance was for the ſecuring of the river of *Thames*, and to lie about *Kingſtone*, *Hampton Court*, and for that purpoſe; yet upon advertiſement from the Militia of

*London,*

*London*, Since his marching forth, that it would be a good and acceptable service for him to march to *Arundell* to secure that place, hee marched forthwith (as you heard before) to *Gifford*, and staid there some few dayes, till he received an Expreffe from Sir *William Waller*, desiring him to advance further, whereupon he advanced to *Godalming*, where he yet staid. Divers of his Officers were dispatched on Monday last, January 22. to Sir *William Waller* at *Arundell*, to advise with him concerning their advance unto him. For that faithfull and worthy Commander, Serjeant-Major-General *Browne*, he hath alwayes declared much willingness and readinesse to joine with the ever renowned Sir *William Waller* in following the Lord *Hopton*, or to doe any other service for the State, as he hath heretofore by many undeniable testimonies made manifest to the world.

On Saturday last, January 20. both Houses of Parliament passed an Ordinance for the recruiting, maintaining, and regulating of the Forces of the seven associated Counties under the command of the Earle of *Manchester*, to this effect, That whereas the said associated Counties have raised and maintained to the number of 24000. horse, foot, and dragoons, or thereabouts, and intend to raise a farre more considerable force both of horse and foot for the defence of the Parliament and Kingdome against the common Enemy, they have thereupon ordained, That for the better recruiting & maintaining the said Forces, and for the buying Armes, Ammunition, Artillery, and other necessities for them, the said severall Counties shall be charged and rated weekly, as followeth, *viz.* The County of *Essex* to pay the weekly summe of 1687. li. 10. s. The County of *Suffolke* 1875. li. The County of *Norfolke*, and the City of *Norwich* 1875. li. The County of *Hertford* 625. li. The County of *Cambridge* 562. li. 10. s. The County of *Huntingdon* 330. li. The County of *Lincoln*, and the City of *Lincoln* 1218. li. 15. s. And the Isle of *Ely* the summe of 327. li. 5. s. And the said weekly payments are to beginne from the first day of January instant, and so to continue weekly for foure months next ensuing from the said day.

This Ordinance is likely to conduce very much unto the good of the said associated Counties, for that (amongst other matters of great concernment) a speciall proviso is made, That if the said Souldiers shall have free quarter in any place of the said Counties, allowance shall

shall be made out of their pay for it. A course very fitting and necessary to be put in execution, both in those and other Counties.

There was a Letter this weeke intercepted in *Stratford*, containing expressions of high and dangerous consequence, concerning a new Designe of the Cavaliers party against some Members of the Parliament; there have beene severall parties apprehended by Warrant from the Lord Generall, who lately came from *Oxford* about this or some other new designe against the Parliament, who are since committed to the Kings Bench. The Letter was brought by a woman, with Tobacco wrapt in it, as a better colour for her free carriage. We may be sure the enemies (like their father) are ever restless in their inventions, having still some designe or other in hand against the Parliament: But I hope the same God that discovered all their former conspiracies, will discover this or any other designe against those worthy Patriots. The Letter (for a more perfect discovery of their sinister practises) I have here set downe.

Sir,

**B**Y your last, you expresse much sorrow for miscarriage of our great Designe; I blame you not, for the losse is great, for true it is by their good service (which are our true friends) all sorts of men were moulded into a posture of affecting of Peace upon any termes: lacke of trade, in stead of money purses stufte with publike faith, well accommodated, in persons all bearing Armes, that hang they will rather then march forth againe; their Armies so well and duly paid, that their purses are so ponderous they cannot march, but lay downe their Armes, having enough of the Parliaments money; the activest of the Rebels beginne to repent, now it is too late; most of our friends, though little suspected, had wittily waved it, and sit sure, ready to serve his Majesty; If unfortunately her Majesty, *Digby, Read, Brink*, had not beene brought upon the stage in publike view (Peace sounds so sweetly) that we had carried on the Designe to our hearts content, in despite of our subtillest enemies; yet we must not leave off Propositions of Peace (if managed by men not declaredly for us) it may againe live. The Spring is at hand, our Allies will be ready to ballance the Scots; in the interim (for cure of an inward disease, a Cordiall artificially compounded and timely taken; may at the time prefixt so operate to our content, that *Waller, Manchester, Prymmer, Hasteridge*, and nine more (their feast being ended) must hold a Councell of Warre with *Bym*; then the day will cleare, thus much for your comfort, despaire not, all will be for the honour of our Church. So wishing you not to omit the speedy burning of this Paper.

I could not send to you without hazard to you and my selfe but by this woman, of whose faithfulness I have good proofe.

January 16. 33.

For



For the Scots Army wee have now certaine advertisement by one which came to Towne on Tuesday January 23. from the Towne of Newcastle, that the Scots came in thither on wednesday was fortnight, there are in all ten compleat Regiments come into *England*, whereof seven of them are quartered in Newcastle, and the rest thereabouts. The enemies forces marched from thence, some unto *Tinmouth-Castle*, and others towards *Torke*, upon the hearing of their approach. There went the last weeke 27. saile of Ships from *Hull* to joyne with the Scots for the besieging of *Tinmouth-Castle*, which it is hoped they will shortly possesse themselves of.

Sir *John Meldrum* hath lately performed many good services against the Enemy, onely the last weeke he dispatched about twenty of his Souldiers and an Officer into the Island of *Atholme*, which with about twenty more of the Inhabitants well affected to the Parliament, were betrayed by some of the Malignants into the hands of the Cavaliers, who as yet detaine them prisoners. Sir *John Meldrum* in revenge of this treachery hath resolved to goe into the said Island himselfe.

By Letters from *Northampton*, dated January 18. it is certified, That the Kings forces, which formerly quartered at *Towstet* have wholly deserted that place, and are gone towards *Oxford*; but upon their relinquishing of the place, Captaine *Lawson* with a troupe of the *Northampton* horse pursued them, and tooke some of them prisoners; but the said valliant Captaine was unfortunately slaine in the pursuit. The *Northampton* Forces have now possessed themselves of the Towne, which is a place of very great strength and of much consequence to the well-affected in that County.

The Earle of *Lanrick* by the meanes of Colonell *Cunningham* (Cup-bearer to His Majesty) having with the said Captaine and his followers escaped in a disguised habit from *Oxford*, was taken at *Maldenhead* on Wednesday last by the Parliaments forces, from whence according to the Warrant of his Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall he was sent for to London, and brought to Towne on Saturday last. There are divers others of the Scots, and of the more moderate party at *Oxford*, which are now comming away. Many of their eyes are now opened to see what religion is like to be advanced, when Papists have so many places of preferment both

both in Court and Camp: many of the papists have been notified by the Parliament, in some of their Declarations.

Amongst the Captaines that were lately taken at Arundel, there were severall Officers which were knowne Papists. Amongst the rest one who died at Stretham as he was coming for London, being searched, there was found about him in the wrist of his shirt a Coffre of Gold, which being to open with a small key, there was therein a small piece of Wood with this inscription, *Sanctus crucis*, intimating that the Wood was one of the pieces which the Papists ridiculously esteeme to be part of the Croffe of Christ, which would be of an infinite vastnesse were it as bigge as they have pieces of it shew in severall parts of the World.

VVe had severall reports this weeke of the Kings forces coming towards *Alisbury*, with an intent (as was conceived) to besiege it; but the whole designe is now discovered, namely, that they had intent to have betrayed it, and for that end they dealt with a Captaine of the Garrison to give him two thousand pounds to let them enter: but he having received five hundred pound in hand discovered it to Colonell *Alldridge* the faithfull Governour thereof; by which their expectations being frustrate they are returned to *Oxford*.

From *Derbshire* it was informed VWednesday January 24 that *John Gell* hath taken *Barton upon Trent*, and therein divers Commissioners of Array, being Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of good quality in that County, with about ninetyscore common Souldiers, much Armes, Ammunition, and Treasure, Colonell *Halling* himselfe hardly escaping, which will be a meane to get the three regiments of horse which were lately surpris'd at *Melton* in *Leicestershire* exchanged, besides divers prisoners to boot.



Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for Thomas Bate, and J. P. 7. 1643.

Mercurius Cœlicus ;

O R,

A CAVEAT

To all the people of the  
KINGDOME,

That now have, or shall hereafter happen  
to reade the counterfeit and most pernicious  
Pamphlet written under the name

O F

NA WORTH:

O R,

A New Almanack,

AND

Prognostication

For the year of our Lord  
and Saviour Jesus Christ

*written by n<sup>o</sup> John 164<sup>th</sup> Bond<sup>re</sup>. R*

(Said, in the Title Page thereof, so be) Printed at  
January, Oxford, by His Majesties Command. 25: 1643

London, Printed by J. Raworth, for John Partridge. 1643

Mercantile Catechism

A CAVEAT

To all the people of the

KINGDOM

That now have

A New Almanack

AND

Prognostication

For the year of our Lord

and Saviour Jesus Christ





Mercurius Coelicus :  
OR,  
*A Caveat to all the People, &c.*



Suppose you are all furnished with *Almanacks* and *Prognostications* for this whole yeer ensuing, before this time ; At leastwise, I hope you will not bestow your money on so lying a Pamphlet, or spend your time so vainly in reading so notorious *Untruths* ; as this counterfeit *Salworth* would fain perswade you to believe. As for the *Chronologicall* part thereof, which he stiles thus, *With a brief Chronologie of the most remarkable Occurrences since the beginning of this Rebellion ; Calculated exactly for the Latitude and Meridian of the famous University and City of Oxford.* I must intreat you to believe me ; for the very truth is, All that *Infamous Chronologie* is nothing else but a *Collection of Untruths*, raked out of the Dunghill of *Mercurius Aulicus* his abominable lying Legend ; which, like the *Infectious Disease* now raging at Oxford, and other the Western parts of the Kingdom, had like to have poisoned all the people thereof, had not his *Anti-Mercury*, our friend *Britannicus*, seasonably given them an *Antidote* to purge and cure the *Melancholly* gotten by that malignant *Aulicus*. I believe he hath calculated it exactly for the *Meridian of Oxford* ; for it can serve no other place of the Kingdom : The people there dare not speak truth, And how then, think you, dare they write ? His reckoning up



of (fained) *Victories* at this and that place, are all false *Calculations*; Me thinks the very thought of *Reyton*, *Edge-hill*, or *Newbury*, should strike him dead. I could tell him of *Alton*, *Gainsborough*, *Arundel*, &c. If he would but tell us of their (our enemies) true *Losses*, as well as of their fained *Victories*, in which (to their perpetuall shame) they so much boast, the Kingdom would be more sensible of the blood that they have caused to be spilt, and unanimously rise to suppress their cruell Tyranny, their bloody and inhumane cruelties. How dares he write of *Victories*? If ever they (for whom that *Almanack* was calculated) got any, it was by Treachery. As for the word *Rebels* he so often mentions in that lying *Chronologie*, surely (if I be not mistaken in my Figure (which I seldom do) he means himself, and those that live in that *Clymate* where he calculated his *Erra Pater* (for he is of very neer kindred to *Mercurius Aulicus*, who is the son of *Water Crookum*) together with those inhumane bloody *Irish Rebels*, who before and since the Cessation in that unhappy Kingdom of Ireland, are come over, and joyned with the *Atheistical* and *Papistical* people of that, this, and other Kingdoms, To destroy the *King* and *Parliament*, subvert our Religion, *Laws*, and *Liberties*; To bring in Tyranny, Slavery, Popery, and all the misery that ever this Nation suffered: Surely, if ever there were *Rebels*, these are they, Of the off spring of *Cain*, very *Cannibals*: I have gotten these base words by reading of him: And therefore, lest I be infected with this *Oxford-Maladie*, I send him his words again, which he shall never claw off, till he amend his *Calculation*, and beg Pardon of the *King* and *Parliament* for his so grossely abusing them, and endeavouring to seduce the whole Kingdom; But, I doubt, *A great Seale*, which he sayes (falsly) is at *Oxford*, will do him little good: And for the other, *The Great Seale*, which truly is here, I hope the *Parliament* will make such use of it, that all those whom I named before (*Rebels*) shall, ere long, receive their just Reward. Reader, believe it, There was never so many Lyes heaped together in so short and few lines, since the word *Almanack* was used.

But stay, Master *C. P.* I have not done with you yet, in your *Astronomical Observations*. If you be the same *Saturnus* of *West Aukland*, that wrote an *Almanack* for the yeers 1641, and 1642, and referred it to the Latitude of *Durham*, I honour you, and now give you thanks for your Remembrance (in one of them I then saw before it was printed) of some *Observations* I made upon the Eclipse of the Sun in May, 1639. which you had published to the whole world, had not some of the Bishops Chaplains, *Baker*, *Bray*, *Wyke*, *Heywood*, or some of their fellows, made An *Index Expurgatorium* thereof, as they usually did in my *Almanacks*. But me thinks

you should not be he that then wrote ; for in the year 1642, you understood your self very well, when in that yeers Revolution, and the Effects of the two **Eclipses** of the **Moon**, you said thus ( for I will use your own words ) *Mixing the Effects of the Eclipses with the Lunations, and other powerfull Affects which the Embassadors of Heaven pronounce unto us, The Conjunction of Jupiter and Mars, the 19 of May, And of Saturne and Mars the 30; We cannot cleere our selves in generall or particular of many strange Accidents, which will amaze and distract divers; for the Moon is ( as the middle of either Eclipse ) in the eighth House of the Heavens, in domo Mortis, &c. Mars is Alnuten, or chief Ruler at the first Eclipse of the Moon; And Mercury of the second; And both of them in Signis humanis: If therefore we escape sharp tertian Fevers, War, Famine, Pestilence, House breakings, Rapes, Depopulations, Man-slaughters, secret Seditions, Banishments, Imprisonments, violent and unexpected deaths, Robberies, Thefts, and pyratieall Invasions; If also Libellers, and Displempered Letters be fore stalled and intercepted, Let the Glory be to God; For when Villany is unmasked, Vertue shineth: Busie tongues, and variable Rumours, will seduce or induce many; but nothing for their Good, &c.* Thus far are your own words: And now, Master **Patworth**, let me intreat you to remember what I mentioned at that Conjunction of **Mars** and **Jupiter** the same 19 of May you speak of, 1642, in these words, *Præcessor Bellorum cautus hic esse docet, quod Res ipsa loquetur.* About which time the **Illegal Commission** of **Array** was put in execution; And at, or neer the same time, the **Whitts** of the **Bury** **don** was ferled by the happy Counsell and Advice of this Thrice honoured (never to be forgotten) **Parliament**: As likewise that other Conjunction of **Saturne** and **Mars** in the end of May, where I used these words, *Circa hoc Tempus Bellica Stragemata, audierunt: Iust at that time when **Wull** was sorely threatned; but (blessed be God) it is yet, and I hope will be kept out of the **Enemies** possession. Though there hath been used much **Art** and **Subtily** for the betraying thereof, to, and by them, to whose Care and Trust it was then committed; In due time they will be dealt with as they deserve: You may please to remember the 23 of **October** 1641 (which with you 1642 is called, **The grand Rebellion**) It is very true, the 23 of **October**, 1641, **The unparalleled Grand Rebellion of Ireland** burst forth, for which God punish you that very day twelve moneth; over against which very day and time in my **Almanack** for that year 1642, I had noted thus much upon the **Opposition** of the **Sun** and **Mars**, *Peritum marmura generabit ira iniqua, Cæles quibz cruciata & lites ara hinc inde percrebescunt.* That very time you lost so much **Good** **Blow** you speak of; And were so soundly beaten between **Fey** **non** and **Eyre** **hill**, by the truly Valiant **Robert** **Earle** of **Essex**, **The** **Parlia-**  
**ments** **Lords** **Generall**, &c.*

You'l say, It was pretty well ghest, **God wits may Jump**, I do not love to rub the Gal'd Horse back, you know my meaning (as well there, as in many other places of my **Almanack**) well enough; But you are turn'd **Court-parasite**, you, and I must part kindred; Yet me thinks, we should agree about the Effects of the last *Great Conjunction* of **Saturne** and **Jupiter**, which happened on the sixteenth of *February* the last yeer: You calculate Backwards, of things done, and past; I tell you of what's to come (which is the true end of **Almanacks**) Hath the small difference of latitude between *Oxford* and *Durham*, so much altered you; Sure you came by *Sea*, for fear the **Scots** should catch you, *Et sic Animum muasisti*. I must tell you in that *Great Conjunction*. If I understand my **Astrophors**, or my self, **Jupiter** was predominant, as you say above (**Malignant**) **Saturne** (a name properly given to your self, and your friends.) And no doubt as **Abellahala** an Author, I know as well as your self, who saith, *Cum Jupiter fortior fuerit Saturno, significabit bonum in eadem Coniunctione* (as in this *Conjunction* he is) I agree with you, and that it portends much good to *England*, and all other the places you speak off; But *England*, and all other those places, &c. must first be Purged of the **Malignant humours**, before the **Benigne** and **Wholsome** can come in their stead. I told you what **Alsted** had foretold many yeers since, upon that *Great Conjunction*, I said it was a **Fore runner** of a **Through Reformation**; And he said, *Hujus Coniunctionis Ignis consumet omnes sceleris & Feces Urbis Romæ*; you see since that *Conjunction* what Effects it hath wrought; **Remember Cheapside-Crosse**, *Anno Dom. 1643*. On that day you call **Inventio Crucis**; And let me tell you what was done the eighteenth day of *January*, this very yeer, upon that very place, where **Cheapside-Crosse** once stood; There was many **Idolatrous** and **Superstitious Pictures**, and **Images**, **Crucifixes**, **Crosses**, **Popish Books**, **Whips**, and other your **Roman-Arch-Bishop's** **Papisticall** Trinkets, in a flame; The Witnesses (besides many thousands other People) were no lesse then the **Parliament**, The **Honourable the Lords and Commons**, the **Lord Generall**, the **Lord Admirall**, with many other **Colonels** and **Commanders**, the **Reverend Assembly of Divines**, the **Scotch Commissioners**, the **Lord Mayor**, **Aldermen**, and **Common-Council** of *London*, passing from **Christ's Church**, to **Merchant Taylors Hall**, guarded by the **Regiments** of the **Trained Bands** of *London*; I say, That day many **Popish Reliques** were consumed to **Ashes**, which (no doubt, though it will displease the **Pope**; yea, and your Friends at *Oxford*, and elsewhere) It will be acceptable to **God**, and all good men; Such a sight and day you had not at *Oxford*, nor ever was there such a day, since **Inventio Crucis**; you see now to what height the

the fire of this *Conjunction* flames, it is coming to Oxford very shortly; you had best shift for your self, For believe it, the *Universities* must be purged; you see what a necessary *Element Fire* is, *Newcastle Coal* is coming; you would fain perswade and seduce the people to believe that this *Conjunction*, which Authors call *Conjunctio Planetarum maxima*, Quippe quæ reguntur leges Imperii Regiones, and that it doth *Praemonstrare res magnas & mirandas venturas in mundo*, yet you say it hath no signification of **Warre**. I think it had nor of this **Warre** which you and your friends (our Enemies) at Oxford have raised; For there was many yeers before, strange *Terrestriall*, *Ecclesiasticall*, *Politick* *Conjunctions*, *Conspiracies*, *Conederacies*, I know not what to call them; you know *Causa præcedit effectum*, and who were the Planets that ruled in those times, and what a Malignant Influence they had over this Kingdom, Ireland, Scotland, &c. And what they have produced from other Forraign States; But I must tell you again, That this late *Celestiall Conjunction* hath got the predominancie, and all the *Christian World* will feel the effects thereof, more and more every day; Shall I tell you what I think of that *Great Conjunction* you speak of, which was at *Westminster* the third of November 1640. The which God be blessed continues yet, though some *Stars* of the first *Magnitude* have fallen since; and others have proved Errant indeed, yea, and though the *Terrestriall Moon* hath Eclipsed our *Sun*, (*For as Sol est Rex Planetarum, so Rex est Sol Parliamenti*) and other *Starres*, *Stellæ peregrina, nebuloæ*, have mixed their Beams, and deprived us of the sweet and ordinary *Benefits* we use to receive by His Presence; yet it will check your *Opposition* at Oxford, that I hope the Kingdom shall not be hurt one jot by the Malignant Influence thereof; I mean your *Anti Parliament*, there, will prove a meer Meteor, an *Iguis Fatuus*, *Nothing*. And though you may there force *Votes* to Murder the King, Lige People; Commit Perjuries, Prophanate the Sabbath, Assemble all the false *Priests*, *Papists*, *Atheists*, and *Jesuites*, in the Kingdom; Keep the King from coming to *His Parliament*, Yet I trust that *Conjunction* which was in November at *Westminster*, co-operating with that other of *February*, will work a Through *Reformation* indeed, throughout this Realm, by a timely *Purging* it, of all *Atheists*, *Papists*, *Jesuites*, *Bloody Irish Rebels*, and others, the enemies of God, and true Religion, and bring the Authors of this bloody **Warre**, they have raised to condigne punishment. And as the *Starres* of Heaven in their *Comets* fought against *Sisera*, so no question, But these *Starres* at *Westminster* (where that more notable and more greater *Conjunction* was, you speak of) though they have a sharp *Combat* with cruel Enemies; they shall have a Noble and Glorious Victory.

As for that *Homo trium Literarum*, which I bid the Kingdom be-  
ware of ; If you have not *Erasmus* his *Adages*, you may please to  
search in some of the *Colledges* ( if the Books be not pawned ) be-  
sure you may have it in *Bolloy's Library* ; And therein in his Title  
*De Contemptu & Vilisate*, you shall finde these words, *Homo trium*  
*Literarum*; *Per Ironiam dici potest in eum qui generosus ac ingenuus Villen-*  
*cupis* ; *Inde natum, quod olim Ingenui nomen prænomen, & Agnomen in*  
*litteris aut Insignibus suis tribus litteris notare soleant* ; *Ut pro Quinto Valerio*  
*Maximo. D. E. D.* *Plautus in Aulularia Focum aliis detorsit, utem*  
*in seruum Furacem, Subjicit enim : F. U. R. trifurcifer* : In this sense  
I understood it, And thereby meant your *Cavaliers* would turn  
*Thieves* and *Robbers*, as you may easily understand, by the re-  
sidue which follows my Premonition ; But because you have cor-  
rupted the Text, (as you use to do) and have construed *Homo trium*  
*Literarum*, to be *Ker* : I shall heartily desire, and pray God, That  
*His Majestie* would not hearken any longer to you at *Oxford*, but  
return to *His Parliament* at *London* ; and then that place of  
Scripture you mention as a *Donation* to him (at the end of your  
Legend in *December*) will be performed ; But till that be done, I  
shall tell you of an (*Ablation*) another place of Scripture, *Proverbs*  
*25. 5. Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be*  
*established in Righteousness*. I say, till this be done, I do not foresee  
that honourable Greeting, which you say, *Paulus Jovius* saluted  
*Charles* the Great with, will happen this *Revolution* to our King *Charles*.  
And therefore Master *C. D.* because you and your friend *Aulicus*  
may not any longer, abuse the Kingdom ; you by your lying *Alma-*  
*nack*, and he by his lying *Pamphlet*. I will give you both one  
Character ; you shall finde it in the same *Erasmus*, a little before  
*Homo trium Literarum*, your Companion *Homo Trioboli*, pro *Homin-*  
*equissimo, planeque nullius in gratia* : The English whereof, is truly your  
name, *No-worth*, or a *Dan worth nothing*. And so I wish you  
leave calculating for *Oxford*, and return to *Durham*, where the  
*Scots* are approaching ; and upon your submission, they may  
happily remit you your Errours ; But believe me, if they take *you*,  
and *Aulicus* together at *Oxford*, you cannot receive the Benefit of  
the Seal, you say is there ; For the truth is, you are both unpar-  
donable.

24. January. 1641

John Booker.

FINIS.



A True

9

# RELATION OF

A notable Surprize, and eminent Defeat,  
given to the Rebels at *Elsmere*, eight  
miles from *Wem* in Shropshire,

By that vigilant and valiant Commander  
for the King and Parliament,

*COLONELL MITTON,*

Commander in Chiefe of the Forces in Shropshire, under the  
Right Honourable the Earle of *Denbigh*:

Being upon Friday at night *Jan. 12.* as *Sir Nicholas Byron*, and  
others of the Rebels were convoying Arms and Ammuni-  
tion towards the siege of *Nampwich*, and other places.

And is published purposely to cleere that misreport, and mistake  
of *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, and *Sir William Brereton*, and to  
satisfie those that desire to know the truth.

---

*Jan. 26* Printed according to Order for G. B. and R. W. . 1643

# RELATION OF A True

A notable surprise, and eminent Deceit  
given to the Rebels at Basing, eight  
miles from Newmarket.

By that vigilant and valiant Commander  
for the King and Parliament

COLONEL WILKINSON

Commander in Chief of the Forces in Shropshire, under the  
Right Honourable the Earl of Newcastle.

Being upon Friday, the 12th, as Sir Nicholas Byron and  
others of the Rebels were conveying Arms and Ammunition  
towards the Regent's house, and other places.

And is published by order to clear that misreport and mistake  
of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Sir William Brereton, and to  
satisfie those that desire to know the truth.

Printed according to Order for G. F. Waller W.

A true Relation of a notable Surprize, and  
 eminent Defeat, given to the Rebels at Ellmere, eight  
 miles from Wem in Shropshire, &c.

**I**N the first place, I shall informe you  
 that the conscious and well affected  
 Gentry in Shropshire seeing the illegall  
 proceedings of the Commissioners of Array, and  
 daily feeling the grand oppressions that ensued  
 thereof, and being too sensible of the dangers,  
 which like a deluge had overflown not onely the  
 most part of that County, but a great part of the  
 Kingdome, some good Patriots of them ap-  
 plied themselves to the honourable Houses of  
 Parliament, propounding some remedies of re-  
 dresse, and obtained an Order, interressing some  
 principall of the best affected Gentry to be a  
 Committee intrusted for the publick good of that  
 County, to contribute, contrive, act, and do their

A z

best

best endeavours as well for the clearing of the said County from their grand oppressions, as also (as they saw need and convenient occasion) to assist Sir VVilliam Brereton or any others, their good friends and fellow sufferers, burthened with the like grievances: To which purpose, and in pursuance of the relieving of their poor oppressed Countrymen, they made choice of VVest, a Towne not farre from Shrewsbury, which the enemy was possesst of, this Towne they began to fortifie and Garrison it, but before they could compleat their workes, and had not scarce three hundred Souldiers, and onely Colonell Mitton a Gentleman of quality in that County, and of approved courage and fidelity, now chosen high Sheriffe of that County, he with Master Mackworth, Master Hunt, and Master Loyde, three of the best affected of that Committiee, and most zealous Patriots, did valiantly, courageously, and resolutely defend this Towne, not then  
 fully

fully fortified, against two dayes severall furious assaults of the Lord Capell, and the Malignant Gentry of severall Counties, having at least four thousand Souldiers, and with an undaunted fortitude repulsed them, having slaine or wounded most of the Commanders and Officers that led up their men to the assaults, as the enemy themselves then confessed; but you shall see how God blesteth small beginnings that are laid upon good foundations: I will not repeate former actions of this valiant Colonell and Garrison, exceeding worthy of a lasting memory, I shall onely come to the present narration; Lately a ship was sent from Bristol with Armes and Ammunition to furnish the Rebels at Chester, and their adherents the besiegers of Nampwich, but such was the loyalty and faithfulnessse of the foremastmen to the good of the King and Parliamēt (to their lasting praise be it spoken) that they forced the corrupt Master and Officers to take about for  
 shon



Liverpoole instead of Chester, and furnished the honest Lancashire men instead of the Rebels of Chester; now the Rebels being thus disappointed and disfurnished, and the inhumane upstart L. Byron having besieged Nantwich, sent a strong convoy to Shrewsbury for Armes and Ammunition, both to supply themselves and Chester; the most vigilant and valiant Commander Colonell Mitton had by his espialls secret knowledge thereof, but prudently and providently made neither motion, nor took any seeming notice of it, untill they had been at Shrewsbury, where the Rebels furnished themselves with eight large barrells of powder, seven hundred weight of match and other Ammunition, in their returne the first night they Quartered at Elsmere, eight miles from the Garrison of Wem, and within fourteen miles of that Garrison four thousand more of the Rebels were Quartered, which I conceive made the convoy over confident that the noble

noble Colonell durst not peepe beyond his works;  
 but he that very night being the 12. of this instant  
 with a party of horse and foot in much silence  
 marched to Ellmere, & undescried, fell upon the  
 enemy in his Quarters, where besides what were  
 slaine, took prisoners Sir Nicholas Byron Go-  
 vernour of Chester, Sir Richard Villis, Ser-  
 jeant Major Generall of the horse, (who once at  
 Winchester, contrary to his engaged faith  
 made an escape with the Lord Grandison when  
 they were taken by the Parliaments forces) to-  
 gether with his brother Major Villis, Captain  
 Offley, Captaine Hatton, Captaine Rixam,  
 and one other Captaine, besides a hundred infe-  
 rior Officers and Troopers, and two hundred  
 and fifty horse and Armes, thirty of those horse  
 being the primest in those parts, he took also all  
 the powder, match and Armes that the said con-  
 voy had furnished themselves withall at  
 Shrewsbury, which renders the exploit more  
 famous

famous and of greater consequence, for in all probability the enemy is in want of powder, and if that noble Colonell were but timely furnished and supplied, and his most honourable Major Generall competently dispatched and hastened away, those parts would (if the time and season be not neglected) be quickly cleared from those Rapines and oppressions, wherewith they are now deplorably infested.



**FINIS.**



*Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.*

**THE SCOTISH DOVE**  
Sent out, and Returning.

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and  
makes some Relations of other observable Passages  
of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

*As an Antidote against the poisoned insinuations of Mercurius  
Aulicus, and the errors of other intelligencers.*

From Friday the 19. of January, to the 26. of the same.

I have in two former Relations shewed that although Success in  
Battles, is not always a good ground to judge of the justice, or  
unjustness of a war: Yet that something is, and may be observed from  
the work of Divine providence, in this present war of Great Britain:  
Upon which we may ground the justness of the war; as it is under-  
taken by the Parliament, and the unjustness of it, as it was subtra-  
handed by the King.

fed, and is still continued, by the contrary party: and this will clearly appeare if we consider: First, the severall strange victories we have had, when most Improbable. Secondly, the strange discovering of severall hidden (yet destructive) plots, which they were by us least suspected; and were by our enemies carried on with most confidence: Thirdly, that the intended mischiefe of those Plots, have already in great part, turned upon the heads of them that contrived them: the truth of this is clear to him that will consider it: and I could instance in more examples then my sheete will hold.

My Dove brought you last week some pertinent Examples, of Gods displeasure against Treasons, and treacherous men: they are Originally from the Devil, he is the Father of them, but God is Trust; he abhors all lying pretences, and never useth such men nor meanes in his worke: onely as they are instruments to afflict his Church and people for sin; but they in seeking to do so, of the Church of God, are and shall be destroyed themselves. God indeed useth the malice of wicked men to afflict, for a time, and punisheth his faith-breaking people, by the perfidious perjuries of faith-breaking treacherous enemies, but their time is lesse; so far they must go and no farther, like the proud swelling waves: they may roare against the rocks and banks; but there they shall be broken to peeces; And this we may see if we look back into all times of the Churches Captivitie: For when the Church shall return, confesse her sin, her Idolatry, her breach of Covenant with God, and againe renew her Covenant to seeke God; then will God appeare: *He will arise and his enemies shall be scattered: and his bloody plotters and damned men shall be cut off, although they afflict themselves they shall be broken in peeces: although they take counsell together, they shall come to nought, and when they speak the word it shall not stand.* The Ethnickes that know not God shall acknowledge, not onely his power, but his justice, and it shall appeare not to be by chance nor by policy, but by the powerfull hand of God, not lesse then that mighty deliverance at the red sea: and all the enemies of God shall know, that he is the Lord Almighty, in whom he will get honour to his great Name: by blasting their treacherous plots and bloody designs; and destroying their great strength, and (trusted to) preparations of war: when they shall be discomfited as *Sicera* with his mighty Host: when there was no man to stand against him, he that doubteth of this is more ready for deliverance, as *Israhel* with, and he that shall scoff and jeere at what I write, may possibly live to see it made good, though



though to his greater misery, for it is agreeable to the promise of God, and is the worke that God is now about, which will assuredly be accomplished, to the joy and comfort of all those that by faith with patience, waite upon him.

That I may (upon some reason) persuade you to believe that God will prosper this Parliament, and destroy their wilfull malicious opposers, I will (among many other) commend unto your consideration some *semblable* arguments.

First, consider, that when a magistracy and people, have solemnly set themselves to seek God, by raising *such* Covenant for Reformation: God hath ever been a protector to such a Magistracy, and such a people: But our Parliament, and those that truly adhere to them, have entered into such a Covenant. Therefore &c.

Secondly, consider that when the Magistracy and a great part of any Kingdom, have in themselves against Idolatry, set downe, burde, and destroy *Idol*, *galls*, and remove Idolatrous Priests, God hath ever accepted their work, (and so story yields me example of the contrary, but that God hath defended them) and in the end made them prosperous. But our Parliament hath done all this; Therefore &c.

Thirdly, consider that a people as hath fraudulently fulfilled their oathes, and professions, and called God to witnesse a lye, have been destroyed (except spared by their repentance) or at least disappointed of their ends, and intended purposes. But the Bishops and corrupt counsell about the King, or (as they now call themselves) the countessene Parliament at Oxford, have done this; Therefore &c.

Fourthly, consider that such a people or association, as have combined, and by Anti-covenants for themselves against the worke of God, have been destroyed. But the *Papists*, *Ministers*, *Neutrall*, *Country*, *Prelatall*, *Presby*, and their *Forraigne* associates have all combined, and by Anti-covenants set themselves against the work (and power) of God; Therefore except they repent they shall all likewise perish.

Now for weekly Intelligence, take notice, that on Saturday last, by the authority and prudent care of the Parliament, authority was given to that right honorable, the Earl of Newcastle, not only to enable him with power, to raise money in those (well) associated counties, for the maintenance of his army, but also to authorize him to

remove and displace all Prelaticall heads of *Colledges*, *Popul* & *schollars* malignant *Schollars* and seditious persons, within the University of *Cambridge*, and parishes in all the associated Counties. (And by the assistance of the assembly) to supply their rooms with honest comen. It is a good work, pleasing to God, and safe to the State; for none are greater enemies to Christ and to his truth, then those who are intruders into his Household, *kisse and betray at once*; If the like care had been taken at *Oxford* when it was in the Parliaments power, it would have abotred to harbour so much vice as at this day.

Take notice also of the pious care of the City of *Bristol* in this some well affected presented a Petition to the Common Councell on *Monday* last, to petition the Parliament and his Excellencie, the gallant Noble *Earle of Essex*, that as they have taken care to recruit his Army, so that they would also purge his Army, Sinne is the steepest dangerous Traytor in an Army; *We know when a whole Army fled, for the sinne of one Achan, God will not honour them that dishonour him*. We have had much rumour of a great defeat, given to the enemy by *Sir Thomas Fairfax* and *Sir William Brereton*, before *Nantwich*, the noyse was greater then the blow, yet (God be praised) it was a smarting blow but not it *Nantwich* but it was this (as is since certified by Letters from them then present) *Sir Nicholas Biron*, late Governour of *Westchester*, *Sir Richard Willis*, a *Serjeant Major*, and in all seven Commanders came from *Chester* to *Shrewsbury* for powder, match, and other ammunition, to supply the besiegers then before *Nantwich*, for the losse of that ammunition which was sent them by ship from *Bristol* (of which our *Dove* told you last week) which came into *Levenspool* (to be better employed) had put them to some strait: Now as they were returning from *Shrewsbury* to *Chester*, they quartered at a towne called *Blumar*, ten miles from *Shrewsbury*, and six miles from *Wen*, where Colonell *Morris* is Governour, Colonell *Miston* having notice of them, marcht out in the night, and fell upon the enemy, who thought themselves secure, took all the Commanders, and about four hundred Horse and Foot, some arms, good store of powder and match, and what else they had; the Commanders and prisoners were sent to *Stafford*, and came thither the day the last intelligence came from thence, which was *Thursday* the eighteenth of this Instant. By the same Letters was certified, that on *Tuesday* the 16. of this Instant, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* and *Sir William Brereton*, were in the towne of *Alnby*, where, that day, they kept a *Sollemne Fast*, and resolved the next day with 8000. Horse and foot

to march towards *Northwiche* to relieve it, and to pursue the enemy. God prosper them, as their cause is just, and pardon the particular and personall failings of men engaged in that cause.

On *Monday* last, the Archbishop came to his answer, having all his counsell ready; yet when the Articles of his Impeachment was read, he was not so willing to answer, as formerly he hath been violent to give sentence against others, scarce suffering them to speak in their own defence; he may, (if his Lordship have but so much grace as the Heathen man *Adonibezek*) say, God hath justly rewarded him, (although hee be not dealt with as he hath dealt with others, but much more mercifull). It was long ere hee would make answer, but desired longer time (whether to repent, or plot new mischief, God and his conscience knowes.) His Lordship pleaded not guilty, and yet put in his answer to severall Articles, only to those Articles concerning the *Scots*, he said, he was quit by the Articles of Pacification, after this he returned to the *Tower* again, till the pleasure of the Lords be to call him again to further trial, which passages the *Diurnall* will more fully relate, it being his proper task.

*Monsieur de Gresse*, hath writ to the House a plausible Letter in vindication of himself, concerning the Letter of the Lord *Goring*, which was interpreted, and sealed up in his Letter, he desires that he may retain their good opinion of him, and not be blamed for the weakness of a woman, the Letter being inclosed in his wifes Letter to him, of which hee had no knowledge, but shee only in the fault through weakness, &c. *Prince de Heercourt* writ likewise to the Speaker, but without much expression of his affection, iether in like or dislike, only justified himself, that he would prove himself an honest man, and would be shortly in *London*, and then would, &c.

On *Monday* in the afternoon, a post came to the Lord *Generall* from *Alisbury*, signifying, that an army from *Oxford* of about three or four thousand horse and foot, were within seven miles of *Alisbury*, and marching toward the town; but on *Tuesday* came certain Intelligence what the businesse, which in brief was thus: There having lately been some difference of discontent between Lieutenant Colonel *Mosley* and some other Commanders; the Lieutenant coming to *London* upon his occasions, was closeted with by some of *Oxford* factors, (for treachery) and after much sifting, the Lieutenant Colonel carrying the businesse smoothly, the bargain came to be confirmed, and 1000. pound must be the reward, to deliver up *Alisbury*, the place was appointed where, and how, to agree of the time and way, to which place, according to promise, Lieutenant *Mosley*

sent him back. The time being appointed, he desired money in hand; 100. pound was sent him, a good horse and a sword, and on Monday they came to have possession:

But Livetenant Collonell *Mosely*, when he had the 100. L had all hee looked for, and had made the business known to the Governour: the enemy quartered at *Eshrop house* within two little miles of *Moselybury*, expecting the prize, but by the next morning, by some Scout, or secret intelligence, they had notice that their plot was blasted: so they returned back toward *Oxford*; the walk and fresh air was worth 100. L. considering how ill they are accommodated at *Oxford*; and therefore they recreated with as much content as a dog newly whipt with his tayl between his legs, biting, taring, and plundering all before them: If *Mosely* have not done writing, I would have him tell the world (or at least his friends) with what joy, and triumph they came into *Oxford*, were worth the hearing: But truly it were better to hear there were a more strict course, to discover their Factors, and treason Hatching, that have recourse, (and residence in) *London*: divers of them were taken lately in the *Kings Bench*; (but not as Prisoners, the more is the pity) if more were hanged fewer would venture.

*Sir John Gell* having intelligence that some Gentlemen, and Commanders, were to sit at *Burton upon Trent*, to put in execution the Commission of Array: He provided to make one with them, and spoiled their sport: tooke some of quality, their names (because I remember not) I necessarily must omit; he took also some other prisoners, and horse.

From *Plimouth* it is certified by some that are returned, since the ships and provision came to them, that they are in very good case, and have no enemy considerable within 10. or 12. miles: They make preparation against an other siege: for in the counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, the enemy have taken a List of 10. or 1500. men, to make good the intended siege against *Plimouth*: but I hope their List is not to satisfie the Listers expectation: there is but one rule, and he's no Lister of these men for such a purpose: We have intelligence, that Prince *Rupert* is made General of the West, they have done it, to revive his drooping spirits: for he's of late much dejected: But if his brother *Albion* would rise out of his Grave, it would breed a quarrel, and that needs not, for they are more already, then will be easily appeased, except the imaginary (or counterfeited) Parliament at *Oxford* can conjure, and stay the furies that are upon them: I know not what Doctor *Town* can do, but rather

extract Spirits : But I am sure he could not finde the Philosophers Stone.

The Lord *Inchiquern* is landed with 800. men at *Bristol* : and as many more are following of him : also the Earl of *Ormons* Horse are all expected every day : They make halt (I hope to their ruine) The Lord *Inchiquern* is Marcht into *Darferstire* with his 800. men, and they behave themselves in the countries as they go, as Hogs in a garden (Spoil all) They have this week burnt Sir *Walter Earles* House down to the ground : *Spoyleth Hall he Spoyleth*. Sir *Iohn Meldram* hath lately taken 100. or at least 150. horse, in the Island of *Axholme*, neer to the town of *Gainsbrough*, which Island the enemy hath kept ever since they lost *Gainsbrough* : and have now (against their wills) made surrender of it to Sir *Iohn Meldram*.

We have credible intelligence from *Nottingham*, that some of the Forces from *Bever Castle*, and some Horse from *Newark*, joyning together made a suddain assault against the Town of *Nottingham* : there being no considerable strength to oppose (not much to loose, (the Town having been plundered twice before) The Enemy coming fiercely on, the garrison, and the whole strength of the town, retreated into the Castle, supposing the Enemy to have been of greater strength then indeed they were: as soon as the Enemy was entered the Town, they plundered all, and were preparing to carry away whatsoever was in the Town : But they in the Castle, when they see what the strength of the enemy was, and that it was not so great as they supposed : Issued out upon them, and rescued all the plunder, Killed about 40. of the Enemies : and took many horse, and many prisoners.

For the Earl of *Newcastles* Army, we hear they are quartered in severall parts of the Countrey between *Pomfret* and *Tork* : but that such a number of horse (as some affirm) are come from him to annoy *Lincolnshire* is not certain : but contrary by the best intelligence from those parts : We hear that *Newcastles* Army is not great, although he have pressed men out of Churches, and by multitudes : yet he is not above 10000. strong, and keeps on this side *Tork*, which is a probable argument that the Scots are at *Newcastle*, and the Earl not able to give them battell, but keeps a distant : and stops the way for intelligence : probable it is (for so some have affirmed) that Packets have been sent from the Scots to the Houses : but are intercepted.

The Earl of *Larick*, brother to *Blairgoun Hamblin*, who lately made



made escape from Oxford: hath petitioned the House of Lords, that he may have a safe Conduct to Scotland: and to be tryed for what shall be objected against him, by that Kingdom, to which, with much Submission he offers himself: I say no more, but thinke, observe, that God taketh the wise in his own craftynesse, and the counsell of the froward is carried headlong.

The Garrison at Rochester are gone, they have slighted their works, and as surely (as a dirty thaw would give them leave) have taken their leave of Northampton Forces: but would not let them know of their going, who else probably would have set them forward in their way: They as we hear, with some of the Forces that gaped upon Alesbury, are marcht toward Gloucester to stop those passages: and to hinder the Ammunition intended that way: In what condition that Gallant Gentleman, Colonell Massey is, we have no late intelligence, but we hope his condition is good: he that hath kept him, will keep him.

Give me leave to make the relation to you, of a report of an Oxford Disciple, London Caterpillar, one of the reverend High-Altar priests, who yesterday reported, that on Tuesday last Prince Rupert was Slain at Oxford by the Lord Digby, in the qurell of Mr. Gernun the supposed earl of Yarmouth: me thinkg such a man should not lye, especially bely his friends, yet for my part I believe him not, for he that will belie one, I am sure makes no conscience to belie another, let time try truth:

- That the Imaginary Parliament at Oxford, is but Imaginary, will appeare, it is in part already manifested, in that there was so little personall appearance, few appeared: and yet those few were at the first meeting divided: so that it was adjourned, as soon as it was begun: And in lesse time then is hath been hatching, it will be annihilated: the issue will prove my affirmative: It will be like the Siege in Nebuchadnezzars dream, the feet wherof was partly of Iron, and partly of Clay, and not stand but will be broken to pieces:

There is intelligence from Southampton that there was a Plot of overthrowing that town, like that of Alesbury before named, & they wrought with some of the Malignants in the town, and they with Colonell Morfett taking occasion to move him in it, conceiving him discontented against Colonell Norton, the Governour, he gave ear to it, and appointed the time, and way, of which the Enemy had notice, and accordingly came: but Colonell Morfett having so primed the Governor with the design, preparation was made to entertain the Enemy like an Enemy, and they found an unexpected welcom; In short, Colonell Norton the Governor made a great Slaughter among them, you will hear more at large of the thing in few dayes:

- Yesterday Monsieur de Hascourt came to London, his newes from Oxford we shall hear, when he hath told what it is:

Now Gentlemen, I believe there will be an expectation of something I should say of the Scotch army, the Motto of which our Dove bears: But to say again what I have said were ridiculous, and more I cannot say, no letters nor messengers of credit are come from those parts, I am yet confident the Scots are in Newcastl, an other week will produce more.



Numb. 21.

# THE PARLIAMENT SCOUT:

Communicating His Intelligence

TO THE

KINGDOM.

*From Friday the 19. of January, to Friday the 26. of January 1747.*

Friday we had News that there was a Party sent from Windsor to the house of the Lord Levee, to apprehend some prisoners there, which by the cunning of a Corporall, who knew the servants, was done without shedding of blood: as they were returning with the Parties, they met upon the carere some Gallants, whom they also took; and having searched them, and exiled them of their gold, brought them also to Windsor; the one of them proved Colonel Cunningham, and

H h

and his man with the cloke-bag was the Lord *Lanerick*, who to attaine that preferment, got out of a chimney top: they are both to be sent to Scotland, there to give satisfaction to that State, and the Close-Committee is to think upon a way for their export; thus are they rewarded at Oxford for their good service in Scotland: The Spanish Juncto, seeing they might bring the King to Reason, would not be in quiet untill they were in hold, out of which Lord *Lanerick* got, but *Hamilton* is to go to Pendenis-Castle, to bethink himselfe of the next world.

The same day we had news from severall parts, that the Irish-English, and Sir *John Byron* were defeated; this we had from Oxford, Worcester, and Coventrie, and on Monday we had the same from Leicester, and other parts, and nothing contradicting, only some feare that it was not so great a defeat as was spoken, because no expresse came of it; and besides, we heare the enemy lay before *Nantwich*, that Sir *William Brereton*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was about Manchester.

Saturday, we had little news from abroad, onely that the enemy, with some horse, was fallen into Lancashire, which also was confirmed upon Monday, and the number to be three Regiments, which is like to prove sad for that Countie, in regard the horse and foot of my Lord *Manchester*, is most of them drawne away, onelie the three Garrisons of *Gainsborow*, *Lincolne*, and *Boston*; yet this is the comfort, there is left a wise and valiant Commander, Colonell *King*, to carry on busines, Sir *Miles Hubert* being either come or coming from *Lincolne*, the force of the enemy, before mentioned, had like to have surprized some Ammunition and Armies, going for Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had a promise of a convoy from Leicester, but it came not.

This day an Ordinance passed, enabling the Earle of *Manchester* to reforme the Universitie, and to place in the whole Asso-

giation Orthodox Ministers, and to throw out others.

Monday we had news that there was a Partie preparing, and in part advanced, of five thousand, most horle, out of Oxford, as some conceive, intending to fall upon *Aylesbury*, but as others, to quarter in Buckinghamshire, to hinder their enemies intentions that way; it is said that Sir *Hurrey* is reviv'd, and comes along, we hope the Parliament horle will not be frighted at this news, but be the more watchfull, and gather up their resolutions to give him the other thrust, and that will make a Ruffend of him.

This day we were also in a kinde confirmed, that the Scots were in England, and at least before Newcastle. For Sir *John Meldrum* confirmed our former weeks intelligence, which said, that many posts and alarmes came, yea thirtie six posts all in one day, all crying, helpe, helpe, or the Towne of Newcastle would be lost, if the Scots lay before it but three dayes, and no enemy to disturb them.

This day we are informed of the proceedings betweene the Garrison of Northampton and Toffiter, the Garrison of Toffiter having intention to depart, summoned the Countrey to bring in Carts to carry away their Ammunition, &c. which being understood by the Towne of Northampton, a Party of horle was sent out, who are ever worthy of commendation, where ever they go, for their valour, but this Party had not the patience, saith our Scout to let them go far enough from the Town, but fell upon them and drove them back into the Town, after they were returned into the Town, they Skirmished with Northampton horle and had the worst, Northampton horle taking many prisoners, but at last in a hurrying way, a sad accident fel out, Major *Lauson* a valiant Scot, not inferiour to *Harry*, by a prisoner not disarmed, was shor in the arme with a slug, which bled so much, that before he had got two miles he died.

as great a losse as could have come to that Countrey; at this time no man can imagine what a terrour a resolute Commander is to an enemy; this party of horse returned to Northampton, the enemy makes away to Banbury. If any shall aske why the Garrison left Tostrot, a Town that was so benefitfull to them, by annoying Northampton and the Countrey, after it was so well fortified, that Major *Shannon* did not thinke fit to fall upon it, it may be replied that either his Majesties party retired for other places of more concernment, the multiplying Garrisons draw men apace, which his Majestie in time will want, if supplies come not from abroad, or else because they have some grand designe on foot, which they will suddenly drive on whilst the Scots are busie at Newcastle and in the North, or because Northampton men did so disturbe them in fetching in their provisions and contribution.

This day the Lords, as also the house of Commons called all their Members, according to a former order, and gave time to such as came not at that time in.

Tuesday, we were informed of the businesse, so much talked concerning Sir *William Brereton*, which proved to be the act of Colongell *Misson*, who surpris'd in *Elmestree* 250 horse and men, who were come from *Shrewsbury* with Ammunition, took that also, being a good quantity: and divers persons of quality, as Sir *Nicholas Byron*, Major *Wallis* the Governour of *Westchester*, and of Captaines and other Officers near an hundred, so that now we are even with them for our losse in *Lincolnsshire*, and a good number of Officers and Ammunition to spare. Some Letters speak of 200 or three hundred foot also taken, these are sent to *Stafford* to be secured, as for the bloody murdering of the 300 *Manchester* men we make no question but the *Manchester* men, now coming with Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* being, in number about 8000. will revenge, as the.



the Scots did their Country men at the battell of Newpont, no quarter instead of giving quarter; this power we make no question, were Monday last, not far from Nampwich; the God of heaven give them victory against that Irish English Army.

Wednesday we had news, that the Garrison of Nottingham-castle had given a defeat to some forces that came to plunder the Towne of Nottingham; when they had got together much murther they sallied out upon them, killed divers and took others prisoners, the number are said to be about 200. The same day we had Letters that Colonell *Hastings* had 200. men defeated about Burton upon Trent, fourty slain, and the rest taken.

We had also some Letters intercepted, that intimate the Scots are not so neer Newcastle as was reported, its probable the snow might hinder, the season is rather for winter quarter, then for marching.

The Lords desired the Commons at a conference, to take into consideration the Ile of Wight, which the Earle of Warwicke had some Letters purporting the necessity of, and in particular it was desired a castle there might have a Garrison in it, and care that ships lay there to attend the coast.

This day we understood, that divers parties of the Kings were got into VVorcestershire, as to Ealum and other places, and that they intended thereby to straiten Gloucester, the relief whereof will no question be suddenly attempted, which God grant.

The forces of Sir *William Waller* have a sicknesse among them, and therefore are removed from Arundell to other Quarters, which they may do, the enemy being withdrawne.

There is newes come that the enemy, which some sayes is seven or eight hundred naturall Irish Rebels, not English Irish Rebels, under the Lord *Inchiquin*, have fired Sir *Waller* Esles house in Dorsetshire, and upon the appearance of the Garrison of Poole, ran away like Irish loomen, the businesse must not be brought into president.

If this be true, then compare it with this news from Oxford, viz. that the Queene is gone to Bristol, all the Papists are banished according to the law ten miles from Court, the better to kill the Protestants, the Parliament sits there, and will undoubtedly conclude of satisfactory Laws to content the people, which is most easie, for such hath bin their late miseries, that restoration to former State, though it were but an annihilation of their Religion and Liberties with an introducing Popery and tyranny with peace, will be accounted doublelesse a Jubile to them. So unhappily have affaurs been transacted, so ready are the multitude to judge or go according to events.

The businesse of Ireland we cannot say is good, we wish it better, and believe it might be, but —

Twelve thousand pounds was ordered on Wednesday to be paid to my Lord Generall, for payment of his Army, but his Ordinance is not yet compleated.

We heare that Plymouth hath received the long expected Supplies, to their great joy and content.

*Quest. 1.*

First, whether it were not better for Citie and Countrey, as well as for the souldiers, that the Army were constantly paid?

*Answer.*

It were: First, because they then could have no colour for free quarter, which is a mighty sadnesse to the people, and falls hea-  
yie upon the frontier countreys, the inward paying no part.

Secondly, the burden, were the Tax rightly laid, would be equally borne, which now is not; then which nothing will so ease and content the people.

Thirdly, the money flung to the souldiery, would go round, as it did in times of peace, from the Nobility and Gentry, to the Tradesman, and from them to the Husbandman, in stead of which now comes in the souldates, who part with their money  
both

back for the back, belly, and other wayes, to the Tradesman, and they back to the Merchant and Husbandman, and they to the Land-Lords.

Fourthly, by this meanes the Merchant will be encouraged to fetch in, and carry out, which must needs give life to thousands now ready to starve.

From this may be inferred, that when war cannot be suddenly ended, it is gooder governme, and drive on the war with life to the people, and full employment, that they may pay the soldiery and they them: if this had beene set on foot long since, it had been better for every condition, but when shall we be wise, and consider the miseries of our friends?

*Quest. 2.*  
Whether it will be better her Majestie go for France, or stay in England

*Answer.*  
It is better she stay here: first, because of her great power among the Clergy, who have great power in working the people to contribute for the Catholique Cause, and likewise to fight for it. Secondly, because she will be out of the reach of the law, and of receiving according to the merit she is charged with by the Parliament. Thirdly, because her absence here, facilitates not an accord, the Councells in Oxford we have had experience moving according to the instructions she leaves: Fourthly, because she may prove an unhappy invitation to his Majestie to follow, which cannot but be unhappy for him and the Kingdom: Lastly, because the Irish will by it receive undoubtedly more supplies and encouragement.

Therefore care should be taken that her Journey be hindred, if possible.

*Quest. 3.*

Whether it were not better to prosecute the war in Ireland, though

though it should protract the war in England, then to have our powers desert that Kingdom.

*Answer.*

It were better, first because if Ireland be defeated besides the torall losse of all adventures former and present, it will cost England ten times as much the regaining, as if the powers be continued now.

Secondly, it will divert the Irish from coming hither to supply the Oxford party, who so soone as they have fortified their strengths, and settled their Army, which they designe and will make it good, thirty thousand will undoubtedly mast with all possible powers into England, as knowing that the end of the civill wars in England make way for an inundation of power from thence upon them.

Thirdly, if the income of the Scots should not conduce to the prosecution of the war in Ireland, as well as that in England, our remedy in the eye of reason will not cure our distemper, rather prove a Physicke that will bring the body into a consumption, which may prove mortall.

Lastly, the Soldards will be discouraged for a rest attempt, as impossible, and so the usefull party in our present exigent become an after burthen intollerable according to a perfect rule of State, if corruption swell, let it out.

Printed according to Order for

G. B. and R. W.

# Irelands Misery

12

Since the Late

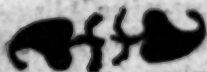
## CESSATION:

Sent in a Letter from a Gentleman in DUBLIN,  
to his Brother in Law, now residing in *London*, some-  
time living in the County of *Cavan* in  
that Kingdome.

*Harrison*  
*K*

Wherein is set forth the great Cruelty and Horri-  
ble Massacres, committed upon the English Protestants  
in severall Castles and places which they have taken since.

With divers other remarkable Passages of great conse-  
quence concerning the Affaires of both Kingdoms



LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Shephard*, at the signe of  
the Cradle in Corne-hill. *January 26.*

1644

1643



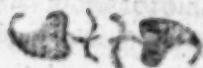
# Ireland's Miserie

Since the late

## CESSATION:

Sent in a Letter from a Gentleman in Dublin  
to his Brother in Law, now residing in London, some  
time living in the County of Carlow in  
that Kingdom.

Wherein is set forth the great Cruelty and Horri-  
ble Murtheres committed upon the English Protestants  
in several Castles and places, which they have taken since  
With divers other remarkable Passages of great conse-  
quence concerning the Affairs of both Kingdoms



LONDON,

Printed for Henry Staphord, at the signe of  
the Crowne in Cornhill. January 26.

1644

**Letter from Mr. Richard Harrison in  
DUBLIN, to his brother Mr. R. TUKE, now  
resident in London, &c.**

Sir,

I Have written to you severall times of our great and prosperous victories against our enemies formerly: but now I must write unto you of the fearfull Tragedies acted against our poore Countrey men, by the barbarous Irish; since the unluckie cessation, our forces being drawne away from hence daily, and our victuals exhausted through the great and daily concourse of the Irish to this miserable City. we being left as a prey to the enemy, expecting daily and hourly to be massacred and murdered in our beds, being strongly conceited so, through the manifold outrages and slaughters committed upon our poore brethren, in their severall Castles and Garrisons, as in that of Catherlow, Maloban, Raecoffie, and divers other places, which the Irish have taken; contrary to their pretended Truce since the bloody Cessation, having cruelly murdered all our men, women, & children that recided in them: they at this present manage all the affaires in the City, the Castle excepted, whete our Lords, Justices, and Councell keepe themselves close, fearing to be surprized. Our condition is very lamentable, we are as sheepe appointed for the slaughter, our wives & children swooning in the streets

for want of bread, and our wofull eyes made spectators of their cruell insolencies, in setting up their Idolatrous Masses in all our Churches, whereof they have taken possession, and banished our best Divines; the Lord for our sinnes having already begun a great famine of the word amongst us; neither are we suffered to depart the Kingdome, but are exposed to the merciless cruelty of hunger, cold and famine, as also the ending stroke of grisly death which we hourly expect. Oh our miseries are unspeakable, but like to increase if not prevented by sudden (but I hope in the Lord) a provided death. But our only woe is, that you are like to suffer with us, and that very soone, if some speedy course be not taken for the stopping of the great multitude of Irish Papists which daily flock from hence into this kingdome, under pretence to assist his Majestie against the Puritans. I do beleve that this shall be the last that ever I shall write unto you (my deer Brother) but in regard of my duty and loyalty which I owe to my Countrey, I will to my best endeavour set down in brieft according to my own knowledge how this plor or misery contrived and still acted in both kingdomes, hath been a working these sixteen yeares, to establish popery both here and in *England*, to the intent that my deer native countrey men may be the more cautious in not falling into their mercies as we have done.

About the yeare 1630, the Earle of *Cork* and my Lord Chancellour *Leftin*, being Lords Justices of this kingdome, the said Earle being zealous of Gods worship, did put in execution the statute against Recusants, which took such effect here, that the common sort of Irish came daily to our English Churches for two moneths and more: in the meane time the Earle of *Westmeath*, Sir *Richard Barnwall*

of *Cricklow*, are imploid as agents to the Queen, in the behalfe of all the Irish. I cannot tell how the businesse is carried, but the Kings Letters of favour are obtained to the Lords Justices, commanding them not to molest his good subjects the Irish, in their former liberry of conscience, which was accordingly obeyed. Afterwards the Earle of *Strafford* succeeded in this governement, (who being a cunning inan to get wealth) threatened the subversion of popery (though by him never attempted, the Irish being mightily terrified) imployed *Westmeath* and *Barnewall* the second time to the Queen: these Agents fall cunningly to work, and compounded with his Majesty to afford him a mighty sum of money throughout the whole kingdome, if so be they might enjoy their former liberry. Presently they obtaine his Majesties Letters againe to the Earle of *Strafford*, commanding as they desired, then all things go well with them: but that the money is not gathered, Warrants are issued out, and none so deeply taxed as the poore Protestants in purchasing the freedome of the Papists who afterwards cut their throats and dashed their children in pieces: well the money is collected, the Papists take courage, they build Abbies and Couvents in every corner of the land, the Locusts flock in daily to this miserable City, they build their Masse houses in every street, and increale in three year to the number of fifteen hundred Priest, Jesuits Fryers, and Monks, as is here still extant by the computation of *Paul Harris*, one of their owne Seminary Priests: the High Commission is set up for the suppressing of our honest Ministers, and it is made a Court of justice for Seminary Priests to pleade and sue for Parishes for themselves, as may appear by this story following, the said *Paul Harris* being Seminary Priest in the Back Lane,

was to be put out of his Parish by the titular Romish Arch Bishop of *Doublin*, and one *Patrick Cate* appointed in his place: *Harris* appeals to our High Commission Court, and cites *Cate* to answer his suit, which he accordingly did: after long pleading *Harris* was adjudged to keepe the Parish, he having formerly obtained a Letter of favour from Sir *George Ratliffe* to our godly Bishops to that intent, to proceed further in the plot: *Strafford* dis- armes all our English, and raises an army of the Papists to the number of eight thousand, and sends them to the North against the poore Scotch, allowing every Regiment as many Masse Priests as they please to use. But what is all this to the many insolencies and approbrious words used against us, by tearming us traitors to the Crowne and dignity, affirming (they having the Kings Commission for their warrant in murdering and destroying an hundred and fifty thousand soules. And great likelyhood there is of a strong party they were assured of in *England*: their Agents *Nicholas Plunket* and the rest of his confederates being all that Summer before the rebellion with his Majestie at Court, and waiting upon his person to Scotland, from whence they posted into Ireland, and proclaimed openly the Kings authority to handle in that wofull manner you often heard of. I have sent unto you for your better satisfaction, the speech made at *Granarde* in the County of *Longford*, by *Edmond O Bealy*, the titular Romish Primare, the 27 of August. 1641, before the rest of his fraternity. It was found in Latin about *Anthony O Lork*, a Franciscan Fryar, slaine at the Bartell of *Clodeum Mill*, in the County of *Cavan*: but afterwards translated into English by Archdeacon *Walsen*, for the better satisfaction of all honest men.

Edmond



Edmond O Healy, his Speech to the rest of the Romish  
Bishops at *Granada*, the 27 August. 1641.

WE doe not presume most reverend Fathers in God,  
through any preheminance of our place or calling, to  
make our selves the mouth of the sacred Assembly; nei-  
ther do we confide in the small value of either our learning  
or eloquence, wherein we know our selfe to be inferiour  
to the meanest capacity here assembled: But the zeale of  
the Catholick cause hath eareen us up: the waves of un-  
godlinesse having overwhelmed our Holy Mother, the  
Church. *S. Peters* ship was never so near sinking, when  
he cryed *Perimus*, as it is now. Its not unknowne to you  
Reverend Bishops, how the sacious Puritan Parliament  
of *England*, endeavour to root out our Holy Church  
in the three Kingdomes: how our King and gracious  
Queene are slighted by these aforesaid wicked Hereticks;  
and how all hope of her godly assistance is frustrated: all  
these passages you are certified by our Agents from *Court*,  
but there is hope that all is not lost, have not we a blef-  
sed *Hesper* to pacifie *Abasurum*? have not we a strong party  
to joyn with us both in *England* and *Scotland*? and which is  
more to be considered, are not we fully certified of mighty  
combustions to ensue in *England*, our King and Queen are  
blamelesse in this persecution intended, whose clemencie  
we have rasted these many yeers past, therefore Right  
reverent Fathers lend your helping hands for to build an  
Ark to save us from this deluge, let us be courageous as  
(we are directed) to destroy all the hereticks of this land,  
they

they are but a handfull to us, that we may be able to save our own turn in *England* in assisting the King against our enemies, go to I beseech you in the name of the blessed virgin *Mary* of the holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, and of all the Saints and Angels in heaven, all whose blessing we implore in these meritorious proceedings. Amen.

Sir, you see how our woes begun and what encouragement the Irish had to use us as they did, or do you think that these inhumane butchers will fight for the Protestant Religion, the professors thereof being so odious to them, that they digged all the bones and carcases out of their graves in every Church throughout the land because forsooth, they would not say masse there as long as they had any hereticke bone within the church, and here they swear too that they fight for the Protestants Religion, but you shall here their equivocation, they say that it is the protestation that makes the Protestant and if they protest to fight against the Gospel, their Protestation makes the Protestant, and as they say themselves, they may be lawfully tearmed so.

You see their cunning trickes in striving to overthrow our Religion, I beseech the Lord to preserve *England* from their tyrannie though I my self never hope to see it or to escape their crueltie, hoping to meet you in heaven I rest

Your loving Brother

R. Harrison

Dublin 2 January, 1642.

Copia vera,

John Rodd.

S<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Byron is taken.  
Commissioners of Army taken.  
A strange bloody Prodigie.  
A Caven for Porters.

(419)

Numb. 13.  
54.

# CERTAIN INFORMATIONS.

From severall parts of the Kingdome, and  
from other places beyond the Seas, for the better  
satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly  
Informed of every weekes Passage.

From the 22. of January, to the 29. of January, 1644.

Monday, January 22.

Out of *Leicester* it is informed, that some of *Colonell Hastings*  
forces marched from *Asby de la Zoube*, to *Leicester*, a Towne  
eightene miles distant, in that County, where they plundered di-  
vers honest men, and carried some Constables from thence, and o-  
ther places, away with them, together with horses and other cattell; this  
plundering was acted by them on the eleventh of this present Month of Ja-  
nuary, which day, as it is related, the Captaines at *Leicester* had appointed  
for couling the Hare, and running of Horses, they having not any other  
use for them; and so unfortunately the Cavaliers plundered the honest men  
on that side the Countrey, which the Captaines hearing of at their coming  
home, sent out a strong Parry of Horse, under the command of Captaine  
*Byron*, but they came on horse too late to *Leicester*, from whence they  
went to a Towne called *Sutton Cheney*, about seven miles from *Leicester*,  
which they rounded, where finding no opposition, they returned home a-  
gaine. Upon *New-years-day* last, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* his men, coming to  
*Leicester*, and seeing the Captaines there so fine, their breeches being garded  
with six silver laces, very broad, said, they never saw the like before, and  
thought they were too fine to fight.

Upon the fifteenth of this instant January, the Lord *Gry of Greb*, ap-  
prehended one Captaine *Ludlam*, who had lately beene Major, and Alder-  
man

man of *Edinburgh*, for an affront given him by the Captaine, and hath sent him prisoner to *Barghley-house*, which is a garrison for the Parliament, where he will be better taught, then to affront a Generall of such faithfull integrity and valour as his Lordship is, the Captaine was growne lofty, and denyed to give the Lord *Grey* his due respect, say he was not so well bred as to know his owne duty, and therefore he must now suffer for his unmannelinese.

This day, according to the Order of the Right Honourable Peeres, Doctor *Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was brought from the Tower of *London* to their house, and because he could not be conveyed thither by water, in regard of the present frost upon the *Thames*, he was carried in a Coach by the Lieutenant of the Tower, through the City of *London*, which was guarded by the Warders of the Tower, in their Coates with their Halberds, and he being conducted to the Barre made of purpose for him in the House of Lords, the Articles of Impeachment against him, were read before him, and being demanded by the speaker of the House of Lords, which for the present is the Lord *Gryffith*, what he could say in answer unto them he pleaded not guilty unto all of them, excepting that Article which concerneth the raising war heretofore against the *Scots*, whereunto he pleaded in Barre the Act of Oblivion, which hath passed both the Kingdomes, whereby he hath Confessed in Law, himselfe to be guilty of those crimes objected against him by that Article, and for his indemnity seeketh shelter from the said Act of Oblivion, for his transgressions against the Kingdomes of *Scotland*, which the Peeres must adjudge, whether he be capable of the benefit of that Act or no, and no doubt the honourable House of Commons know full reasons for impeaching him for those his contrivances against the *Scots*. And seeing he hath now pleaded not guilty to all the rest of the said Articles, he hath put the honourable House of Commons to make them good against him, by such testimonies as they can produce in proofe of them, which will take up some time, so that this businesse cannot be so soon determined as some (that are ignorant of legall proceedings) expect, or as might be done either at the Kings Bench Bar, or at an Assizes in the Countrey, where criminall causes are for the most part dispatched in halfe a day, or a whole day at the uttermost. The Archbishop might have made this answer on Tuesday last, when he appeared before the Peeres, that he was not then prepared, it being no difficult thing to plead not guilty, having had two yeares time to premeditate, But these are deemed to be dilatory shifts, only to gain time, upon hopes perhaps of enlargement, but by whom, or from whence, is unknowne,

knowne, for he must be released, either by an escape, or by the Cavaliers taking of London, or by death, or by a happy Accommodation, unless grand Delinquency be excepted.

The Lords Ambassadors of the States of the united Provinces, have sent one of their Gentlemen with a Trumpet to Oxford, to desire a safe conduct of the King, for their going thither, to have Audience, and to deliver their Embassage, and these Messengers are expected to returne hither againe to-morrow, or on Wednesday at the latest, if the weather give leave, and it is conceived, that these Ambassadors will quickly dispatch the businesse they come about, either one way or other, according as they receive answer.

Tuesday, January 23.

It came by Sea from Plymouth, that the Earle of Warwick's ships are arrived there, and that they have relieved that Towne with shott, men, armes, and ammunition, which were sent from hence to supply them, which hath given such courage to the brave defenders there, that now they wish only for some more men to take the field with, that so they might free their Countrey from the Cavalier party, that infesteth it.

There is a strong report, that at Burton upon Trent in Staffordshire, divers Commissioners of Array were gotten in there to settle their illegall Commission, enforcing that part of the County to submission and compliance therewith; which being notified to Sir John Gell, *Baronet*, he sent out a considerable force of horse and foot to crush them, which being carried privately, they came upon the Array men at unawares, and took them every one, together with their guard of Malcontents, to the number of about two hundred and forty men, and carried them all prisoners to the Towne of Derby.

And it is also reported, that the Cavaliers of Newcastle upon Trent, and *Whitton* house, which belongeth to the Lord *Chaworth*, sent out a party, to seize upon the Towne and Castle of Nottingham, where they plundered the Towne, and after they were departed, the garrison made out after them, slew about thirty of them, took eighty prisoners, and recovered the plunder again, the certaintie and further particulars of these reports, we hope shortly to receive by an expresse from Derby, as the Carrier next returne from thence.

Out of Shropshire it is informed, that since the *Driffield* ship deceived the Cavaliers at Chester of their armes and ammunition, by carrying them to *Liverpools* in Lancashire, the English, Irish forces that besieged *Nantwich*, in



in Cheshire, were forced to send for Powder and Match from *Shrewsbury* to supply their wants, and having gotten so much of those provisions as the Towne could spare, they conveyed them to *Elsmere*, on purpose to avoid *Wim*, where the Parliaments Forces are garrisoned under the command of Colonell *Milton*, who having notice of this convey, made out with forces from *Wim* to *Elsmere*, on Friday, the twelfth of this instant *January*, to intercept it, and coming upon the Cavaliers in the night time, he seized upon their whole convey, where he took Sir *Nicholas Biron* the Governour of *Chester*; Sir *Richard Willis* Maior Generall, and his brother Maior *Willis*, one hundred officers and Troopers, two hundred and fifty horse and armes, eight great barrels of gunpowder, and even hundred weight of Match, and carried them all safe to *Wim*.

And out of *Lancashire* it is informed, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Sir *William Byreson*, and the *Lancashire* Gentry celebrated a solemne Fast on this day seven night at *Manchester*, and that the next day, the forces from *Leke*, *Altham*, *Oxford*, *Cheshire*, and *Lancashire* mustered there, and the day after, to the number of eight thousand horse and foote, marched from thence to relieve the Towne of *Namptwich*, which was besieged by Sir *John Byron*, with about seven thousand horse and foote, but since it is informed, that hee is withdrawne from his neere siege of that Towne, and is retreated to a further distance of three or foure miles from it, and that the souldiers of the Towne issued out upon his Reere, and took two pieces of his Ordnance, and some of his carriages, at his rising from thence, as it is said, but what those two noble Chieftaines have since exploited, cannot yet be related by the party that brought these Informations from those parts.

Wednesday, January 24.

The Parliament hath passed an Ordinance, and the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Common Councell of the City of *London*, an Act, for raising the value of one meale meat every week, upon all able Householdiers, within the City and Liberties of *London*, and Lines of Communication, for six months ensuing, towards the buying of Armes and Ammunition, for the Auxilie forces of the City and Suburbs, and this is to be levied by way of Assessement upon every family, for the better defence of the City and Suburbs against the Cavaliers and their adherents, the now common enemies of the Parliament and Kingdome: And every family shall be left to its free liberty, whether they will salt the meale or no, and the rate shall be assessed with

such

such equality, that no family shall have just cause to complaine, which will prove a good way to secure the City Armes, and the better enable it to resist the Cavaliers stratagems and attempts upon it. Yet we foresee, that malevolent mouths will be opened against this laudable defensive course, and they will grudge to part with a penny in this way, though in other wayes they are penny wise and pound foolish.

The Cavaliers are alwayes restlesse in their Plots, and indefatigable in their treacherous enterprizes, which hath beene made apparant, not onely heretofore, but also of late in one of their attempts upon *Alisbury* in Buckinghamshire, where they hoped to gaine that Towne for money, having promised Serjeant Maior *Moseley*, one of the Commanders there, the summe of a thousand pounds to betray that Towne into their hands, and sent him one hundred pounds in part of that summe, but that Gentleman proved more faithfull and honest then to be entrapped by their bribery, valuing his conscience to the Protestant cause, which he now defendeth, above all the baits of deceitfull riches; yet shewing a seemly compliance, he privately acquainted Colobell *Albidge*, the Governour of that Towne, with the enemies desire, who gave him leave to continue that correspondencie with the Cavaliers, to bring them into the net; at the time appointed the Cavaliers made their approach, the Towne being fitted to welcome them, both with great and small shot, but some of their well-willers got out of the Towne, and gave them notice of its intent, which made the Cavaliers retreat, and defeat that enterprize.

*Thursday, January 25.*

We have beene very lately informed of a strange Prodigie, which we could not have beleved, had we not received it from a person of worth and credit, who hath described it in verse:

*As I beheld engraved on  
A pure Parian Marble stone,  
The lively Portraitt of a feature  
That did denote a Kingly creature;  
A sudden and amazing sight  
Did then my trembling heart affright;  
Sprinkled spots and specks of blood  
On this Royall visage stood;*

But how, or whence this wonder came,  
 No beholder there could name.  
 And that a marble face should bleed,  
 Is far above a mortall's Creed;  
 Yet when my faith comes to mine eye,  
 I then may see it was no lie.  
 If Oysters bleed, why might not stones?  
 Omnipotence reviv'd drie bones:  
 Well, it is so, the wonders' wrought,  
 And each man's left to his owne thought.

This Prodigie was seene in *G. omerich*-house upon a marble Statue of King *Charles*, by divers persons, that can attest, and verifie the same, in the year 1643. a little while before the *Queene* went into *Holland*.

The Bloody-Oyster-Prodigie, the forerunner of our present Tragedie, as some conceive, was visible in the Earle of *Arundells* house without Temple Barre, a little before the Spanish Fleet was shattered, and defeated, by *Van Tromp*, the Dutch Admirall.

If any shall aske why this Prodigie was not revealed before now, if it be true? We answer, that there is a time for all things; and this, as it appeareth, is Gods time, and the beholders of it to discover it.

What it might portend for the future, we leave onely to Almighty God; but for the present, we have experimentally felt in this Kingdome, that the *Queenes* going into *Holland*, and pawning or selling the Jewells of the Crowne there, and transporting Armes from thence to supply the Cavaliers here, hath occasioned the shedding of streames of English blood, and so far the presage of that bloody Prodigie hath proved true.

Friday, January 26.

From *Plymouth* in *Devon* they write, that it is reported there, that three hundred Cornish men being brought out of *Cornwall* to continue the late siege before that Towne, were quartered at *Rhympston-Mary*, where they were not able to endure the stench, which the Cavaliers, that were last quartered there before them, had left behinde them, at which discontent, they betook them to their Armes, and marched towards their Countrey againe; but before they came to *Newbridge*, which lieth upon the River *Tamar*, that parteth the Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, they sent twelve of their men to

the

the Court of Guard that kept the Bridge, to desire leave to passe over it to their owne homes, which the Court of Guard denied to permit; whereupon, the Cornish men made ready their Muskets, came upon the Court of Guard that opposed them, and forced their passage over the Bridge, with the slaughter of above thirty of their opponents, and so got into their country againe.

Next they write, that of late there hath been divers single combats betwene the Cornish and Devonian Cavaliers, in which the Devonshire men have had the better, and gotten the victory of their adversaries.

Thirdly, that the Cavaliers have pulled downe all the Ovens at *Tamerton*, a village neere *Plymouth*, because they baked bread there, to relieve the inhabitants of *Plymouth*, during the siege. And that these Cavaliers have totally foraged all the Country thereabouts, and nor left any thing to sustain either man or beast.

And lastly, that the Cavaliers have quite deserted the defence of *Mount Stamford*, and left it to the disposall of the Towne of *Plymouth*.

The French extraordinary Ambassadour, is returned to *London* from *Oxford* yesterday. And the Hollands Ambassadors Messenger is also returned hither from thence, with a safe conduct from the King, for them to go to *Oxford*, and it is said, that they intent to go thither the next week.

It is reported, that some part of *Arundell* castle was lately casually fired by Gunpowder, and that some bailes of linnen cloth, which were landed there out of the *Dunkerke* ship, are also consumed and burnt, but what other hurt is done there by this fire, is not yet fully related.

*Saturday, January 27.*

Though the Cavaliers are polirick, subtile and full of wiles, yet their craftie engines speede not, but are still discovered and supplanted, and that by the continuall overruling power of God, whose hand they cannot see countermining all their plots, although by the effects it is as apparant as the light, but they still runne on in their obstinate course, and thought to have eluded a late Ordinance of Parliament, against bringing of writs from *Oxford* to the Judges here, thus: A Young, as it is said, delivered a Letter to a Porter in *Shoreditch*, requiring him to deliver it to Judge *Reeve*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, at Serjeants Inne, and gave him twelve pence for his paines; the Porter coming into *Fleetstreet*, enquired of a woman whereabout Serjeants Inne was, she directed him to the place, and perceiving he had a Letter in his hand, advised him to be wary in what he did, for, said she, I have

have knowne some called in question for delivering of Letters, not knowing from whom they come, and withall, advised him to carry the Letter to Master *Saint-Iohn*, the Kings Solicitor, and acquaint him with it; the Porter, following her advice, carried it to Master Solicitor, who sent him with the Letter to the Judge, requiring him to intimate, that he conceived there might be a Writ in the Letter, and withed him to be cautious in accepting it; the Letter being brought to the Judge with that caution, he refused to take it, because he would not disobey the said Ordinance of Parliament, but sent it back againe; which being afterward opened, a Writ was inclosed in it, to adiourne this present Terme to *Oxford*, whereby the Cavaliers device was utterly defeated. Let this Accident be a warning to Porters, and Carriers of Letters, lest for desire of lucre, they bring themselves into trouble, if they cannot produce the parties that delivered them the Letters.

From *Hamburg* in Germany the Letters certify, that the Swedes are in their conquest of Denmark, that they overran the most part of *Jutland*, and taken three of the King of Denmarks ships at *Laback*, and that the King beginneth to raise forces to stop their proceedings.

We have yet no certaintie that the Scots are near *Newcastle*, though some have confidently printed that they have taken it.



Printed according to Order, for  
G. B. and R. W.



<sup>12</sup>  
The Case of our Affaires, 14

I N

L A V V.

R E L I G I O N.

And other Circumstances briefly examined, and Presented to the  
C O N S C I E N C E.

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Jan: 29 O X F O R D,  
Printed by *H.H.* for *W.W.* 1643.

The Case of our Adversaries

IN

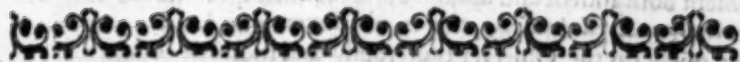
LAW

RELIGION

And other Circumstances briefly  
related, and presented to the



Printed by H. A. for W. W. 1843.



*The Case of our Affaires in Law, Religion, and other Circumstances  
briefly examined, and presented to the Conscience.*



Hough the Bonds of all Dutie are originally and principally founded in God, and tied by Religion; yet seeing all civill Duties relate to the particularity of the humane Ordinance, and according to the nature of it, is with more or lesse importance to be exacted.

What Subject soever would finde the truerule and bond of his obedience, must in the first place look what the State is wherein he lives, and in whom the Sovereignty is to which his obedience and faith is inevitably bound.

Our State of *England* (even by the declaration of our Lawes) is a Kingdom, an Empire, a well regulated Monarchie; the Head thereof a Supreme Head, a Sovereigne, a King whose Crown is an Imperiall Crown, the Kingdom *His* Kingdom, *His* Realme, *His* Dominion, the People *His* People, the Subject *His* Subject, not onely as they are single men, but even when being in Parliament assembled, they make the Body Representative of the whole Kingdom considered apart without the King, so that the very Parliament it self is also by our Lawes called *His* Parliament: the King alone by Law hath power to call together in Parliament that Representative Body, and at his pleasure to dissolve it; He personally hath Homage and Oath of fidelity of all the Peeres as of *His* Barons, and all the Commons in Parliament do by Law swear Allegiance to Him as to the *Onely* Supreme Governour, and to assist and defend all Iurisdicktions, Priviledges, Preheminences, and Authorisies, belonging to Him, *His* Heires and Successours, or annexed to the Imperiall Crown of the Realme. By the same Oath also is every Officer of considerable trust in Church and Common-wealth assured to His Majesty; and not onely they but every single man of twelve yeares of age ought by Law in some or other of His Majesties Leetes to swear Allegiance to His Majesty: and never in our Law have we known an Oath of obedience to be made unto the Parliament, or any other Power in any case, either of mis-government or danger, how extraordinary soever.

This Sovereignty in the King appeares not onely by that Oath of Supremacy, but by the constant acknowledgement of our Acts of Par-

25. H. 8.  
cap. 22.  
24. H. 8.  
cap. 12.  
25. H. 8.  
cap. 2.  
1. Eliz. 1.  
1. Jac. 1.  
Co. 5.  
Codry case,  
fol. 9. b.  
vide the  
Parl. writ.

1. Eliz. 1.  
Co. 5. E. 1.

liament both antient and moderne, which alwayes stile the King *Our Sovereigne Lord the King*, that is, not Sovereigne Lord to every single man onely (as the Observer traiterously and foolishly would make it) but the universality of us, even to our Body Representative in Parliament. For we must note that though we have among us many that are called Lords even by our Acts of Parliament themselves, yet being Lords without relation to the community or publique they are never called *Our Lords*, but *The Lords*, with addition of such or such place or Office; and they indeed are Lords *singulis*, not *universis*, for every particular man may call such a Lord *My Lord*, but the Community may not call him *Our Lord*, for to be *Our Lord* is to be Lord of the Community, and that belongeth onely to *Our Sovereigne Lord the King*.

Our very Acts of Parliament declaring this State to be a right Imperiall Kingdom, a Kingdom (we know) consisteth of no more than two formall parts onely, that is to say, a Sovereigne Head, and a Subject Body; and then it clearly followeth that what cooperation soever there be of any of the Members with the Head for the doing any necessary Act of State, whatsoever necessity there be of the concurrence of those Members; and howsoever they may seem to be Parties, Orders, or States, co-equally authoris'd in the power of acting with the Head, yet plainly there neither is, nor can be any co-ordination, nor co-equality of any Estate, Order, or Degree, of the Subject with the Sovereigne, nor any competition of the Subjects power (in his concurrence) with the virtuall and primary influence of the Soveraignes power; but a plain subordinating and subjected ministration of the one under the Sovereignty of the other, as in the further examination of their differing interests will manifestly appear.

10. Chas.  
Egertons  
Post nati  
73. b.

We see the Sovereignty of this State clearly vested in the King, by Law established in Him, and inseparably annexed to His Person, by which He hath also inseparably both the Sovereigne power and Sovereigne judgement: but as in judging and determining matters of private interest, His power is not absolute but is restrained to judgement, (not judgement arbitrary in His own Person but judgement to be administred by the proper sworne Judges of His Courts of Law) so in matters of publique affaire, for so much as concernes the making of Law; His power and judgement are so restrained to the concurrence of the Nobles, and Commons in Parliament, as that He cannot make any settled Law without their consent: But then in all other things that are not expressly restrained by any Law, as in providing for the present safety against suddain danger, which Senates are so unapt to do,

as that the famous *Roman Senate* was ever fain to choose a *Dictator* to do it for them; likewise in levying of Armes, suppressing of tumults and rebellions, convoaking of Parliaments, and dissolving of them, making of Peers, granting liberty of sending Burgeses to Parliament, treating with Forraigne States, making of War, League, and Peace, granting safe conduct and protection, indenizing, giving of Honour, rewarding, pardoning, coyning, and the like: in all these and divers other points of Regality, the Sovereignty both of judgement and power ever hath been and still is in the King alone, freely and at his own discretion is secured, and to him by the Oath of Supremacy, whereby as aforesaid, the whole Representative of the Commons, all Magistrates and men in place both in Church and Common-wealth swear *To assist and defend all jurisdictions, priviledges, prebeminences, and authorities belonging to the Kings.* For it is plain, that seeing that by the Law of God and Nations, to be King is to be Supream Judge and Law-giver; whosoever is King is supream in every thing wherein he is not especially restrained, and his restraint being by the peculiar Laws of his Kingdom, he can be no further restrained than the known Lawes thereof expressly manifest.

*Psal. 60 7.  
Gen. 49. 10  
Deut. 33.  
4. & 5.*

The great restraint of regall absoluteness in our State is in the two points of declaring and making of Law, in neither of which doth the King depart with any whit of his Sovereignty. In the point declaring of Law, the King is restrained ordinarily to the mediation of his Judges, who to declare the Law by delivery of the genuine sense and interpretation of Law according to art and rules of science, are in their respective Courts the proper and authorized Judges, and Interpreters of Law, and do by their interpretation and judgement then bind both the King and Subject.

Next above them upon error supposed in their judgement, the House of Lords (who anciently were exercised in the Lawes and learned in them, and are assisted with all or most of the Judges of the Benches) do upon Writs of Error in Parliament revise, and by the advice of the Judges affirme or reverse the Sentence of the next inferiour Courts, where the judgement whether given for the King or for a common person, may be reversed, and as well the King as the common person bound by their reversall and judgement, unless they be relieved by expresse Act of Parliament.

*Lo. Cha.  
Egertons  
Postnati  
fol. 22 &  
23. tit. 4.*

Other way of Declaring Law, in true propriety of speech (that is, to declare the genuine sense and dictate of the Law as it naturally ariseth from the force of Lawes in being) there is none: for as to declaring



declaring Law by Act of Parliament, though that of all other be most authenticque, yet it is not authenticque for accurate judgement in interpretation supposed to be in the two Houses there, so much as for authority legislative administred by the three Orders of that high Court; for should the three Orders declare Law contrary to what were Law indeed, yet could not their Declaration be erroneous, for that it thenceforth altered the Law, and made their dictate Law, though it were none before. Such Declaration of Law therefore being never possible to be made, but by the full legislative power of all the three Orders, is not so properly a Declaring or interpreting of Law, as rather the making of it, and is therefore to be referred to the point of restraint in making of Law. And this is clear that in such declaring of Law the Kings power is so much lesse restrained, than it is by declaring of Law by their inferiour Courts as that in this he himself hath ever a personall Vote in the Declaration, but in other he hath none at all.

As to the restraint of regall absolutenesse in point of making Law. When our wise and pious Christian Princes had once brought the Kingdom to an happy frame of just and regular Government, and sought by all meanes the establishment of that good condition, which promised both prosperity to their people, and stability to their own Dominion. (Change and Innovation being thenceforth more to be feared than any other thing) They for preservation of what they had done, began to yeild the absolutenesse of their power, without which they could never have brought the State into any perfect frame, unto some retardation of motion, and regulation of power; and came by degrees not onely to use the advice of the Bishops and Barons in making of their Lawes, but their consents also; and then not onely their advice and consents, but the advice and consents of the Commons also; condescending at last that as to the power of making Law, their Scepter should thenceforth be locked up under the cautelous ward of a triple hand; so as no new Act whatsoever should obtain the Authority of a positive Law without the agreement of the King, the Peeres, and the Commons; to the end that no unadvised Law, not well examined and found agreeing with the interests of every of the three formall parts of this Kingdom, might in any part maime or enfeeble the established frame, which yet did not so much coop up or curbe the regall power from any due work or office that belongeth to it; as rather close and fence it in, within the boundsof safety and of preservation.

Now this restraint being at first collaterall and accidentall to the Sovereigne power, did not in the beginning otherwise binde our Princes than

than by their voluntary and pious submission of their wils, till constant custome becomming a Law made that which was at first at their will, become an absolute and inevitable limitation of their power, so as that at this day no positive Law can now be made by the King, without the consent of the Peeres and of the Commons; and yet for all this necessity now of their concurrence and consent, not any part of the Sovereignty (to which the legislative power is inseperably incident) is in any sort transferred, or communicate unto them: but as in our Copy-hold Estates, the Copy-holder of a meer Tenant at Will, comes by custome to gain a customary inheritance, and so to limit and restrain the will and power of the Lord, as that he cannot make any determination of the Copy-holders estate otherwise than according to the custome of the Mannour: yet does not he deprive the Lord of his Lordship in the Copy-hold, nor participate with him in it, neither yet develt the Fee and Frank-tenement out of the lord, but they still remain in him and are ever parcell of the Lords Demesne. So in this restraining of the Kings legislative power to the concurrence of the Peeres and Commons: though the custome of the Kingdom hath so fixed and settled the restraint, as that now the King cannot in that point use his soveraigne power without the concurrence of the Peeres and Commons according to the custome of the Kingdom, yet still the Sovereignty (and with it the inseperable legislative power) does soly reside in the King. As for the Peeres and Commons they being meerly Instruments of Regulation and qualification of the Kings legislative absoluteness, are no sharers with him in the Sovereignty, but alwayes remain (as our very legislative Acts of Parliament do alwayes speak them) *His Majesties Subjells*. And His Majesty for all this restraining power of theirs remains (as they themselves in the legislative Acts, and not without an Oath, acknowledged Him their *true and only Sovereigne*.

Apparently therefore the Sovereignty or regall power being thus in matters of private interest restrained to the rule, judisdiction, and administration of Law, as well by inferiour Courts as by the House of Lords; and in the publique affaire of making Law, restrained to the concurrence of the Peers and Commons, is not so properly said to be restrained, as regulated. For neither is any of the Kings just and necessary power to the prejudice of the Crown taken from Him (for the Law in no sort suffers any diminution of the just and due Sovereignty) neither is there any partnership of the Supremacy thereby thrust upon

upon the King, when the Law, notwithstanding the restraint expressly declares Him *The onely Supream Governour*. Neither yet is any of the irregular and exorbitant absolutenesse, which the Law separates from the regality, any way transferred to the Courts or persons that are the instrumentals of the regulation, but the Law separating all irregular licentiousnesse from the Regality, utterly annihilates and makes null all practice and exercise thereof. In summe, all that is effected by this regulation is, the King as He ever was, so still remaines, wholly and soly Sovereigne of the Kingdome onely, not of a licentious and illegall, but of a regular and legitimate Dominion.

But when the power and authority of Parliament is acknowledged to be the highest, most absolute, and most Sovereigne power in the Kingdome, and seemes repugnant to that which we have alleadged, that the Sovereignty is wholly and soly in the King; We shall easily reconcile that apparition of contradiction, if we consider that we use the word Parliament to divers senses, and that in two senses wherein wee use the word Parliament there is no Sovereignitie to be ascribed to it.

We sometimes use the word Parliament for the House of Lords onely. As when upon Writs of Error any Judgement in the Kings Bench is examined in the House of Lords, and there affirmed or reversed, the Judgement is said to be affirmed or reversed by Parliament. And yet though in that sense, the House of Lords is well enough called The Parliament, yet is it not the high Court of Parliament, which is the supreme Judgement, power, and Authority of the Kingdome, and that we may easily see in this, that though the Lords have power there to reverse the Judgements of their inferiour Courts, yet have they not power to reverse their own Judgements, nor to restore againe any Judgement that they have reversed; for the judging ministerially, and not soveraignely, do as well binde their own hands as the hands of their inferiours, whereas the absolute soveraigne power doth not so, but may reverse any judgement that they themselves have given, and again restore the judgement that they themselves reversed, for the absolute supreme Court having *juris dandi dictionem*, can never be at the last period of her jurisdiction; but looking ever forward to the present occasion, whatsoever passed before, it *pro re nata* legislatively judgeth, maketh, and declareth Law. But the House of Lords (though the most superiour of all Courts of ministeriall jurisdiction) and all other inferiour Courts, (they having no other jurisdiction than onely *juris dandi dictionem*,) in using their jurisdiction do consummate it, and bring it to

a period, beyond which they cannot go. Besides the House of Lords is not universally to all occasions a judicatorie, and therefore not soveraigne, but is the distinct Court of the Kings Barons of Parliament of particular and ministeriall jurisdiction, in which the King (though one of the three Votes in Parliament) yet in those things which come by proceſſe of Law to receive determination there onely, hath no Vote at all, no more then in all other Courts of ministeriall jurisdiction.

Sometime we use the word Parliament for the two Houses of Parliament onely, and that in regard they are the grosse of the Body, whereof the Parliament consists, there wanting onely the Soveraigne Head to compleat it. But the two Houses alone without the King are so farre from being the supreme and high Court of Parliament, as that they are not at all a compleat Court, neither can they sounite or conjoyne as to be an entire Court of either soveraigne or ministeriall jurisdiction. But are two distinct Courts (if so be the House of Commons which cannot minister an Oath, nor fine, nor imprison any but their own Members) may be called a Court, these are they Courts, not otherwise co-operating, than by concurrence of Votes in their severall Houses, for preparing matters in order to an Act of all the three Orders of the Parliament, which when they have done their Votes, are so farre from having any Legall Authority in the State, as that in Law there is no stile, nor forme of their joynt Acts, nor doth the Law so much as take notice of them, untill they have the royall assent, which if the King refuses, he yet doth no injury to any, for that every of the three Orders that are the formal parts of the high Court of Parliament, (that is, the King, the Peeres, and Commons) are every of them by Law trusted for their own respective interests to be the onely assured Conservators of the rights that do belong unto them, and may therefore every one of them freely dissent from the Votes of the other two, nor is their any danger that it should be so, but contrarily the most assured safety that may be, for the consequence of their not agreeing can be no worse, than that their severall interests shall still remaine in the condition that they were before, untill such time as that they shall all three agree upon the state of alteration. Now when the two Houses alone do no way make an entire Bodie, House, or Court, and when there is no knowne stile, nor forme of any Law, or Edict by the Votes of them two only, nor any notice of them taken by the Law, it is apparant there is no Soveraignty in their two Votes alone.

To argue now as some doe, that the King must not deny his Vote, for if by denying it He may frustrate the Votes of the two Houses, by

the same reason may He frustrate the Votes of all inferiour Courts, and open a way to the most boundlesse tyranny that ever was, is a most perverse and absurde falsitie; there being no affinity nor resemblance of those Courts with that of Parliament. For in inferiour Courts the Judges sit and give Judgement for the King, and not for themselves; and the Law there authorises them to give the Kings Judgement, and none but them, and therefore the Kings Dissent or countermand cannot frustrate their Judgements. But in Parliament the Peeres and Commons neither sit nor Vote for the King, but for themselves. And the Law appoints the King himselfe to give his owne Vote there (which if the Peeres and Commons in His absence could have supplied, the Statute 33. H. 8. 21. needed not have provided that His Consent or Vote by His Letters under His Great Seale should be as effectuell, as if he himselfe in Person had assented.) Besides the Judgement given by the Judges in inferiour Courts, is compleat in Law without the assent of the King, and therefore cannot be frustrate by the Kings dissent; but the Votes of the two Houses are therefore to be frustrated for want of the Kings assent, because without it they are not compleat nor perfect. The high Court of Parliament therefore resembling a Chaire of three feet, the two Houses make but two of the three, which without the third is lame and uselesse (as to making of Law) but with the third becomes a firme and usefull seate, and makes that sacred *Tripos* from whence the Civil Oracles of our Law are delivered. When therefore we speake of the Sovereign power and Authority of the Parliament, that never is to be understood of the power of the two Houses only, nor any such Sovereign power to be ascribed unto them.

Now in the last place, we use the word Parliament for the three Orders of Parliament agreeing in their Votes; then, and then onely use we the word Parliament properly, and in that sense onely is the Parliament the supreme Court, the highest judicatory, and most soveraigne power, and authority in the Kingdome. But we must ever understand, that it is not the most Sovereign Court, for any Sovereignty placed in the two Houses, and from them transferred or communicated to His Majesty, by their joyning or consenting with him, but it is therefore the most soveraigne Court, because every compleat and perfect Act of it is the Act of the personall will, and power of the Sovereign himselfe, *Standing in His highest Estate Royall*, and (through the concurrence of those that are the instrumentals of His restraint) more freely and absolutely working there, than in any other time and place he can do. For as a man that yeildeth himselfe to be bound by keepers,

hath

*Crompt. Iur.*  
10.6. The  
speech of H. 8.  
in Parl. by in-  
formation of  
the Judges.



hath the use of his strength taken from him, but none of the naturall strength it selfe, much lesse any of it transferred to them that bound him, but whensoever they loose his bonds, he againe workes and acts by vertue of his own naturall strength, and not by any received from them: So the naturall right and interest of the Sovereignitie being soly in the King, and the Peeres and Commons being onely interess'd in the Office of restraining, for the regular working of true legitimate Sovereignty, in whatsoever the Peeres and Commons by consenting remit the restraint, the King in that willeth and worketh absolutely by the power of his own inherent Sovereignty. And whatsoever Act of the Court so passeth the hands of all the three Orders, does in truth virtually proceed from the King, as from the true and proper efficient thereof: which does not obscurely nor rarely appeare in our Acts of Parliament, but plainly and frequently throughout the whole Body of our ancient Laws, *The King Willeth, the King Commandeth, the King Ordaineth, Provideth, Establisheth, Granteth, &c.* And yet though properly they be the Acts of the King in Parliament; yet are they also truly the Acts of the whole high Court of Parliament, because that every of the three Estates contribute their power according to the diversity of their office and interest, the two Houses by remitting through the consenting the restraint, and the King by using his then unrestrained power.

We are also to consider, that though this high Court of the three Orders be the supreme Judicature of the Kingdome, yet it hath not that superiority of judgement ascribed to it, for any soveraigne faculty it hath in discerning the true dictate and result of Law, no more than of any other particular Science (as of Divinity, Philosophy, Physicke, Mathematicques, &c.) for the judgement of Sciences belongeth to the professors thereof, and the judgement of Law as well as other Sciences. But the high Court of Parliament is the supreme judge, for the great trust the Law reposeth in the concurrence of all the three Orders, (who have meanes to have the best information of Law that the whole profession doth afford, and are supposed to use it) and likewise for the great power they have to binde all other judgement, and to make their sentence Law, though (as we have said) it were not Law before.

But we are further to observe that in the point of making of Law, the Law restraining thus the Sovereign power to the consent of the Peeres and Commons, the more that by this regulation it purged it from destructive exorbitances, the more tender it grew of the just and legitimate rights thereof remaining, and therefore considering the person of the Sovereign to be single, and his power counterpoised

*Stat. West. 1.  
3. E. 1. 1. 3. E.  
1. 3. & 6. &  
42. Stat. of  
Merch. 13. E. 1.  
Westm. 3. 18. E.  
1. 1. Stat. of  
waste 20. E. 1.  
of Appale,  
28. E. 1. 1. E. 2. 1.  
and all the  
Titles of the  
Acts of our  
Parliament,  
Vniscique in  
sua arte crea-  
dendum, 11. H.  
7. 9. 34. H. 6.  
14.*

25. E. 3. 4. 37.  
 E. 3. 18. 42. E.  
 3. 3. 17. R. 2.  
*Vide* the Oath  
 of the Justices,  
 an. 18. E. 3. Ye  
 shall swear &c.  
 that lawfully  
 ye shall coun-  
 sell the King  
 in his Justices,  
 and ye shall  
 not counsell  
 nor assent to  
 any thing  
 which may  
 turne him in  
 damage, &c.  
 and ye shall  
 do and procure  
 the profit of  
 the King, and  
 of his Crown,  
 with all things,  
 where ye may  
 reasonably do  
 the same, and  
 if ye be found  
 in default, &c.  
 ye shall be at  
 the Kings will,  
 of body, goods,  
 and lands,  
 thereof to do  
 as shall please  
 him. So helpe  
 &c. *Vide* the  
 Statute de  
 Bigam.

35. H. 6. Fitz.  
 Abtit. gard.  
 72. pag. 3.  
 R. 2. H. 6. 1. c. 16.  
 par. 3. fol. 34.

by the opposed wisdom of the two numerous Bodies of the two Houses, it allowed unto the King power to swear unto himselfe a Body of Councell of State (which our Lawes sometime call *His Grand Councell*) and to swear unto him all Counsellors at Law, even the Judges themselves, and others learned in the Law, faithfully to advise him in his Government, that he may neither do nor receive wrong, especially not in Parliament, where the wrong may be perpetuall. And if upon a generall pretence of evill counsell, without any instance in what, his Majesty be deprived of the use and assistance of any of his sworn Counsell (especially in Parliament time, when the Sovereignitie may be so easily overmatched) it will make such a breach of the priviledge of the first of the three Orders in Parliament, as will destroy the true frame of Parliaments, diminish the power of the Crown, and bring the settled estate of the Kingdome into the calamitous innovation of an unsettled and ever changing Forme of Government, and so into all manner of misery and confusion.

The Sovereignty in the King alone, is so clearly acknowledged by our Law, as that (unlesse we would reject the judgement and recognition of all our Parliaments, and especially of all our most sincere and unquestioned Parliaments all the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and ever since, all which doe not onely affirme but swear it) it would be idle to goe about to make praise of it. But when the incredible perversnes of some, and in particular of him that writes, *The treacherie and disloyaltie of Papists, &c.* does not onely affirme the contrary, but would pretend to prove it. It cannot be a digression in a word or two to give some answer to his reasonings.

I shall passe over *Minslow's* Dictionarie, *Speed, Stowe, Vowel, Foxe*, and others, whose authority he is not ashamed to cite for determining matter in Law, and which (if indeed it were a question) were of the greatest consequence that ever was stirred in Law. And because he so much insists upon *Bracton*, I shal briefly examine *Bracton*, and the Authors integrity in citing him and others.

And first, that all men may know how little authority in Law *Bracton* either now hath, or anciently hath had. Our yeare-books tell us that in the 35. H. 6. It was declared by the whole Court, that *Bracton* was never held an Author in our Law, and then it is not materiall what is the opinion of one that is of no authority. But if he were; yet those words in *Bracton* so much insisted on, *Rex habet superiorem Deum, Legem, item Curiam suam, &c.* are not indeed *Bractons* assertion. For *Bracton* speaking of the Kings Deeds and Charters, and affirming (which

(which we would be loth should be Law at this day) that Neither the Iustices nor private men may dispute the Kings Deed, but that if there be doubt of his Deed, or Charter, the resolution must come from the Kings own interpretation and will, &c. Then goes he on thus: But some may say (saith he) that the King may doe justice, and well: and if so, he may by the same reason do ill, and so put a necessity upon him, that he mend the injurie, lest both King and Iustices fall into the judgment of the living God for the injurie. The King hath a Superiour, to wit, God: also the Law, by which he is made King: also His Court, to wit, the Earles and Barons, &c. Now whosoever considers the place, it is all a reasoning which Bracton supposes some other to make, and no affirmation of his own, and that is also plain by his words in another place, where speaking of the King, If Justice (saith he) be demanded of him, seeing no Wrre lies against him, one must petition, that he would correct and amend what he had done. Which if he do not, it is sufficient for his punishment that he must expect God to be the Avenger of it. Not a word of the Courts avenging or rectifying of the injurie, or of their enforcing the King to do it himselfe. Again, speaking of Earls, though with little judgement he would seeme to derive their Office from the Etymologie of the Latine name Comes (which was but a late borrowed translation brought in use by the Conquerour) and would so make them a kinde of Companions with the King; yet does he not make them Companions thrust upon the King by Law, but the Kings (saith he) do associate such to themselves for advice and government. Every one truly is under him, and he under none but God, and he hath no Peer in his Kingdom, for then he should lose the Command, when as one Peer hath no command over another, much lesse hath any one command over his superiour, for so he should be inferiour to his own subjects: and the King ought not to be under man, but under God, and the Law: now these words of Bracton tell us that the other are neither his assertion nor approbation.

Bract. l. 1.  
c. 8. p. 5.

And whereas by those words of Bracton, that The King ought to be under the Law, he would infer a direct Sovereignitie over the King, he very much corrupts the meaning of Bracton, for it is one thing to be subject to Law, and to the administration of Law, and another thing to be a Subject to those that have the administration of Law as to his Sovereignes. Our Saviour Christ was subject to the Law, and to the administration of the Law in the hands of them that were the Ministers of it: yet was not Christ the Subject of those Ministers, nor they his Sovereignes, but contrary he theirs, he being Borne King of the Jews. And Bracton's reason that the King must be under the Law is, because he is

*Christ's Vicar on earth.* And *Christ* himself was under the Law; so as plainly *Bracton* means not the King, otherwise under the Law, then as our Saviour *Christ* was, who did subject himself to the just execution of the positive Lawes of the Kingdom, of which he himself was the Head and Fountain, not that he should be subject to the administration of any arbitrary Law, residing in the people, who should in the last resort be Sovereignes over their own King: for that was not suitable to one that should be *Vicar of Christ*, but to a *Vicar of the people*. Neither is the King more subject to any judgement that can be given in Parliament, than He is to judgements given in inferiour Courts, to which if you will say the Parliament is superiour to those Courts, and the superiority that is but subordinately in them is sovereignly in the Parliament; truly the superiority (if it may so be call'd) that is subordinately in the inferiour Courts, is but more superiourly in the House of Lords than them, but it is not sovereignly neither in the Lords House, nor any other part of Parliament, till we come to the judgement of all the three Estates, (where the Kings will is the efficient formall of the Law) and there you may see that the Vicar of *Christ* the King, like *Christ* His Lord, whom He representeth; in being subject to the Law, of which He is Sovereigne, becomes at last subject to none but Himselfe: for that high Court of Parliament speaketh not without Him.

But ere we give over his citation of *Bracton*, we must not forget his unfaithfull application of it. For as for those words, *The King hath a superior* (that is to say) *God, also the Law, also his Courts, to wit, the Earles and Barons.* He would not onely have them *Bracton's* words, and have them understood to carry Sovereignty over the King, but would have that Sovereignty placed in the two Houses, when as *Bracton* expressly expounds that the Court which he meanes is the *Earles and Barons*, that is to say, the House of Lords onely, and not the Commons too; plainly shewing that he meanes no other superiority than such as is incident to the regular course of Justice in the way of legall suit and proesse, which in that course never goes further then the House of Lords: there is no forme of prosecution in that kinde in the two Houses, and therefore neither Sovereignty nor Superiority in that kinde can be ascribed to them.

Pag. 38.

Neither may we passe over his fallhood and shuffling to extenuate the Oath of Supremacy, that security may make men swallow their perjury and never know it: for though it be true, that the Oath was principally intended against Papacy, (because the Papacy was the first  
that

that ever pretended Sovereignitie over Kings) and the clause of renouncing runs again st Forraigne powers onely, as those that then were onely feared to be pretenders under the Papacie; yet the recognition it selfe, that *The King is the onely Supream Governour*, and the Oath it selfe, to beare faith and true Allegiance to the King, His Heires, and Successours, and to assist and defend all jurisdictions, priviledges, preeminences, and authority belonging to them, &c. are clearly generall, absolute, and unrestrained to any particularity of Papacy, Forraigners, or any thing else whatsoever.

But to come to that that is the maine Authority, scope and drift of his book, and which he would by all means inculcate though but under the shew of telling what popish Parliaments have done, lest otherwise his horrible intention might appear, he brings us precedents that the two Houses of Parliament have upon all occasion sovereignly disposed of the Crown, and of all the rights that do belong unto it, and that even our Kings themselves have submitted their sovereign rights to the determination of the two Houses. Good God! How *Evill men* <sup>2 Tim.</sup> and *Seducers* wax worse, *deceiving, and being deceived.* He that writ the Observations upon His Majesties Answers and Expresses had so much ingenuity left him as to acknowledge, that *There was never King deposed by any Parliament lawfully assembled*; and that the Acts of the Parliament, R. 2. were not so properly the Acts of the two Houses as of H. 4. and His victorious Army. But this man being not ashamed to lick up what his fellow vomited out, presents the world with a cull of all the irregular times of our unfortunate Princes, in which (by the consent of all men) the Acts of neither side are to be drawn into example, and brings us for judicall Authorities, the horrid facts of irregular power, in the Times of King *John*, R. 2. H. 4. H. 6. <sup>Ed. 1. pag. 8. & 10. pag. 15.</sup> &c. And is so supine in his purpose, that with the factious Parliaments in the Times of H. 3. E. 2. and R. 2. (which he cites to have exercised authority over Kings) he sticks not to couple the Rebellions in the North, against H. 4. and the rebellious Insurrections of *Jacke Cade*, *Jacke Straw*, *Wat Tyler*, *Doctour Mackerell*, *Ket*, and others, as Acts that made equall prooffe of the sovereign power of the Peeres and Commons: indeed in both there were much what the same pretences, and both had much what the same warrant. <sup>pag. 15.</sup>

But all those Parliaments as they were called in the troublesome Times of Faction, and Civill War, so were they ever swayed by those that were the Heads of the most potent Faction, and while they alwayes



Page 33.  
34.35.36.

wayes acted in favour of them and their Designe, they are so farre from being instances of the power, and authority of the two Houses, as that cleane contrary, they are plain instances of the weaknesse and unsteadiness of them; when forsaking the moderation and guidance of their naturall Head, they suffered themselves to be lea<sup>d</sup> by the private conduct of every popular pretender; and so even among the precedents which he citeth, we see that when *Canutus* prevailed by his Armes, he could have a Parliament resolve that his Title was the best. When *Hen. 4.* had an Army of 60000. he could have a Parliament depose *R. 2.* and conferre the Crown upon himself. When *Edw. Duke of Yorke* grew potent, he could have a Parliament be the instrument of determining the Raigne of *H. 6.* and leave him onely the name of King for his life, but give the Duke the very Kingdom, under the names of Protector and Regent, *Edw. 4.* could by Parliament procure *H. 4. H. 5. & H. 6.* to be declared Kings in fact, but not in right: *R. 3.* though an Usurper, could procure a Parliament to declare him a lawfull King. *Hen. 7.* could procure the forementioned Acts in favour of *Edw. 4. & R. 3.* to be adnulled. *Hen. 8.* could have a Parliament authorise his Divorces. And Queen *Elizab.* could by Parliament make it High Treason to say, that the Queen could not by Act of Parliament binde and dispose the rights and Titles which any person whatsoever might have to the Crown; when yet we know that no Act of Parliament, no not an Attainder by Parliament, can disable the right Heire to the Crown, because the descent of the Crown upon Him purges all disabilities whatsoever, and makes Him capable of it.

Adjudged  
H. 7.

Page 4.

This is the summe and true estimate of all the Authorieties which he cites, in which if the Acts could be granted to be the meer Acts of the two Houses; yet did they no more prove the soveraigne power to be in the two Houses, than the Popes deposing of Kings proves the right of deposing them to be in him, that the things were done, is no proofe that they were lawfully done: and yet as idle and vile a collection of examples (not to be imitated) as he hath made, he is faine to bely them to makem seem to serve his turne; for truly though he affirms that the popish Parliaments, &c. challenged, or claimed, greater jurisdiction over Kings, than any ever since, yet his instances prove no more claime of Sovereignty than a robber claimes when he exercises an arbitrary power over a mans person and fortunes: what they did they did *de facto*, upon some inferior reasons, not upon claime of the Sovereignty; they neither taught, nor ever learn'd that Jesuitique depth of *Sathan*, that the Sovereignty over the Sovereigne is placed in the Body Representative

sentative of the Subject. All claim therefore of either the Sovereignty it selfe, or of the rights thereof by any Representative of the Subject, is a transcendent impiety beyond the parallell of all his unimitable examples, in which I cannot but the more wonder that he should ascribe the Acts unto the two Houses, when by making the Acts theirs, he makes all the long misery and bloodshed that ensued upon those Acts to have been brought upon the Land by the meer Act of the two Houses. Considering therefore the every way faulty Argument of that Book; both in cyting and applying, I am forced to conclude with the same words that in the frontispiece of his Book he begins with, *The treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously; yea, the treacherous dealers have dealt exceeding treacherously.*

As for the second part of the same Author that came since forth under a title he pretends to shew *the lawfulness of a defensive war*; that answers it selfe, that it comes nothing to the case in question, where the War is acknowledged to be an Invasive War to take from His Majesty certain Counsellours, pretended to be evil Counsellours. If possibly therefore he should prove what he undertakes to maintain that Subjects may make a Defensive War against their Sovereign, yet being nothing to our case deserves at all no answer here, I therefore return again unto my purpose.

That the Sovereignie (with all the rights claimed by His Majesty) is in the King inseparably inherent in the person of His Majesty; we have not onely the forementioned testimonies and reasons, but we have the witness of the two Houses themselves, for whom our deceiving Pamphlets doe now make all the new arguments of pretence. For first, we have (as I have said) the whole current and body of our very Acts of Parliament acknowledging it in these very termes, *Our Sovereigne Lord the King.* We have the Parliament 25 H. 8. declaring thus, *Thus Your Graces Realme recognizing no Superiour under God but* 25 H. 8.  
*Your Grace, The Parliament 16 R. 2. 5. affirming The Crown of Eng-* 16 R. 2. 5.  
*land hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subje-*  
*ction, but immediately to God, in all things touching the regalitie of the*  
*said Crown, and to none other.* In the 25. H. 5. both Houses declare *That* 25 H. 5.  
*it belongeth to the Kings regalitie to grant or deny what petitions in Par-* 15 E. 3.  
*liament he pleaseth.* In the 15. E. 3. The King being unwillingly drawn  
 to consent to certain Articles prejudiciall to the Crown, and to promise to seale the Statute thereupon made, lest otherwise his affaires in hand might have been ruinated. Another Statute in the same yeare  
 reciting the matter enacted in these words, *It seemed to the said Earles,* 5 E. 3.  
*Barons,*

Barons, and other wise men, that since the Statute did not of Our free will proceed, the same be void, and ought not to have the name nor strength of a Statute, and therefore by their counsaile and assent We have decreed the said Statute to be void, &c. In the Statute of Banishment of H. Spencer, the first Article against him, is for making a Bill, wherein he affirmed Homage and allegiance to the King is more by reason of their own, than of the person of the King. The word hath a note of a Parliament roll Diarie of H. 4. The Commons in Parliament pray the King that They may not be made parties to any judgement in Parliament, but where in veritate they are parties, for that the judgement belongs only to the King, except where it is given by Statute. As for the Militia, the Shippes and Forts of the Kingdom. The King and His Predecessours have not only been ever in possession of them, commanded and disposed of them even during the sitting of Parliaments, but have enjoyed that possession without any claime of right made by the two Houses, and our Law hath not a surer badge of right than continuall and unquestioned possession. Besides, the Parliament it selfe, 7. E. 1. declares unto the King, that To him of right belongs straightly to defend (that is, to forbid) all force of Armes, and thereunto they are bound to assist him as their Sovereigne Lord. The Statute 11. H. 7. 18. reciteth, Where every Subject by the duty of his Allegaunce is bound to serve assist his Prince and Sovereigne Lord at all seasons when need shall require, &c. In the 3. of Edw. 3. The House of Commons disclaime the having cognizance of such matters, as the guarding of the Seas and Marches of the Kingdom. And by the Statute 25. E. 3. 2. It is made High Treason for any to meddle with the Militia, so farre as To levie Warre against the King, or to aide them that do it. And we all know that to levie Warre without Commission from the King, or to give aide unto it, is by our Law to levie War, and give aide against our Sovereigne Lord the King, His Crowne and Dignity. And we never knew of any exception out of that Law in case the Warre were levied by Authority of the two Houses? And when we have not in our power to search the Parliament rolls for clearing these things. If (besides our published Statutes) our Law bookes have any authority, we have not onely Bracton (whom they insist upon) but other authentique Law-books concurring with him, who all speaking of the King and the Houses do expressly say, that seeing The King hath no Peere, The King cannot be judged by them. So that whatsoever authority is in the constant practice of the Kingdom, and whatsoever authority in the known and published Laws and Statutes, all do conclude the Sovereignitie in the person of the King, and the

vide Old  
Mag. Cha.  
Diari. H. 4.

7. E. 1.

3. E. 3.  
De quibus ille  
non potest cogni-  
tance. 25. E. 3.  
2.

3. E. 3.  
Fitz. tit. Cor.  
flam. pl. Cor.  
153.  
Bract. li. 2.  
ca. 22. fol. 52. a.  
Rex pacem non  
habet, nec vi-  
cium nec su-  
periorum.

the allegiance, faith, obedience of the Subject even of the Subject virtually united in the Body Representative, to be inevitably devinct and obliged to the person of the King.

The Sovereignitie both of the frame of the State and positive Lawes of the Kingdome being fixed in the person of the King, and the Allegiance of the Subject by Law inevitably thither assigned, then comes in Religion, and fortifies, and enforces all those bonds of duty and obedience, and that under the severe menace of damnation, which when it is in divers precepts and examples (well knowne unto us) abundantly set forth in the Scriptures. It will not be safe for us to let slip the consideration of two examples especially.

The children of *Israel* being redeemed out of *Egypt*, baptized in the Red Sea, and brought for triall into the Wildernesse and they were the type of the Church of God in all Kingdomes whatsoever in this world: so *Moses* their Governour was the type of that regall power under which the Church of God in this world was generally to be governed: so as though he were not a King in point of interest, (for the people were not yet in the Countrey that was to be the Kingdome, neither was *Moses* of the Tribe to whom the Kingdome was promised) yet (saith the Text) *He was King when the heads of the people were assembled*, *Moses* so personating the kingly Office, when as yet there was no expresse command concerning obedience and subjection, more than *Honour thy father and thy mother, and he that curseth father or mother let him die the death*. It happened that *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* rebelled against him, and their rebellion was but this: they in the behalfe of the Congregation of the Lord, because that it was *holy every one of them*, and *the Lord among them*, question *Moses* his Sovereignty, charge him and *Aaron* that they exalted themselves above the Congregation of the Lord, and that *Moses* had not kept touch with them to bring them to a Land that flowed with milke and honey, but sought to starve them in the wildernesse, while blinding the eyes of the people he might in the meane time make himselfe a Prince over them, and out of jealousie of this they refused obedience to *Moses*, and would not come at him when he sent to call them, and so much was their cause believed to be just and right: as that they were seconded with *two hundred and fifty Princes of the Assembly famous in the Congregation*: all of them so confident, that they durst joyne issue with *Moses*, and put themselves upon tryall by Gods immediate judgement in the case, and they were also

*Deut. 33. 5.*

*Numb. 16. 3.*

*ib. 2. 13.*

*ib. 5. 2.*

Psal. 106. 17.

backed with many thousands of the people. This was the Rebellion; the Judgement we all know to be most exemplar Judgement that ever was given in any case. The Heads of the Rebellion *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram*, with their wives, their children, and all their substance, were swallowed up of the earth, they went down *quickly into Hell* (saith the Psalmist.) The two hundred and fifty that invaded the holy Office were slain with fire from Heaven, and fourteen thousand and seven hundred of the people (that favoured their attempts and murmured at the Judgement) were in an instant (in lesse than *Aaron* could get his Censer with fire from the Altar and run among them) consumed in a speedy plague.

Deut. 33. 5.

Exod. 4. 16.

Numb. 11. 15.

It will be objected that *Moses* was a man of extraordinary calling, and that Rebellion against an ordinary Governour (though a soveraigne King) is not like Rebellion against a Governour of so extraordinary calling and privilege; all that granted, yet this exemplar Judgement comes home to manifest the hainous sin of rebelling against Kings at this day.

*Moses* had an extraordinary calling, he could not else have been a type of regall Authority, but in type *He was King when the heads of the people were assembled*. He had the Priest made subordinate to him, *He shall be unto thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be unto him instead of God*. And had the Magistracie, derived from his Authority, to beare the burthen with him, *God tooke off the spirit that was upon him, and put it upon the severie two Elders*. So *Moses* was clearly endued with regall power; and for transgression against that very Authority of his was the Judgement made so exemplar. It could not be exemplar in regard of any other Authority which he had then, and no other sin either had or could have: but that we may know the Judgement was exemplar against Rebellion, against regall Dominion, which would often be committed in the later dayes, the holy Ghost speaking against the seducers and deceivers which in the later dayes should make *perilous times*, describes them not onely by being *Cursed speakers, disobedient to parents*; (that is, as well to Civil parents as Natural) *traiterous, headie, high-minded, resisting the truth*: like them that resisted *Moses*; *Despising Dominion, despising Government, speaking evill of Dignities, of those that are in Authority, of those things which they know not, &c.* but by this likewise that *They perish in the gainsaying of Corah*. The other example is that of *David*. *Saul* was a wicked apostate King, from whom *The spirit of God* (the inward anointing) was departed. *Saul* rejected

2 Tim. 3. 2. &amp; 4.

2 Pet. 2. 10.

Jude 8. 10. &amp;

11.

1 Sam. 16. 14.  
vers. 1.



rejected from reigning over Israel. So by God himselfe declared. David in his stead by God provided to be King : and to that end by Gods command anointed ; by all which Davids priviledge then was more above the priviledge of all Subjects now, than Sauls priviledge of that time was above the priviledge of Kings at this day ; and yet David for all those circumstances so much authorising him, and dis-authorising Saul, did not know *Who could lay his hands upon the Lords Anointed and be guiltlesse*. Nay, he did but lay his hand upon Sauls garment to cut off the lap for a testimony of his loyalty, and innocent intention toward Saul, and yet even for that (saith the Text) *his heart smote him* ; that he cried out, *The Lord forbid I should do that thing to my Master, to lay mine hand upon the Lords Anointed* : his reason we may know in the other words of his, *The Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall descend into banaisle, and perish : the Lord keepe me from Laying mine hand upon him* : plainly inferring, that to call Princes to account belongs onely to God : that God hath time and wayes of his owne to do it in, and will do it : and that therefore man must not meddle with the doing of it : for if anointed David might not intermeddle with rejected Saul, much lesse may common Subjects meddle with their unrejected Sovereignes. Sufficiently therefore doe these examples shew the heinousnesse of Subjects lifting up themselves, and resisting the person of their Sovereigne, upon what pretence soever.

Now while the severity of these examples, and other passages of Scripture, justly striking terror into every soule, does make us wonder what great straight of humane affaires could be so violent and impulsive with us, as to make Christian Subjects contrary to sworne Faith, to Law, and to Religion, not onely disobey their Sovereigne, but resist, invade the soveraigne rights, and imploy their Sovereignes *Adversaries*, Shippes, Forts, Armes, Treasure, yea and his owne sworne Subjects too against Him ; truly all that the most searching thought can finde to secure his conscience with, against the horror of so foule a guilt, is, that otherwise we feare (or pretend to feare) that his Majesty, seduced by evill Counsellours, by popishly affected Prelates, Courtiers, and Cavaliers, should destroy our Law, our Parliaments, our established Forme of Government, and change them into tyranny, and the true Protestant Religion into Popery. This, this Feare or pretence of Feare alone is all the warrant we can finde for our unparalleled proceedings against our Sovereigne.

1 Sam. 26. 9.

Afterward David was touched in heart because he had cut off the lap of Sauls garment.

1 Sam. 24. 6.

raigne. And if this before the Tribunall of God, and of our own Lawes be not sufficient for our excuse, then have we nothing to discharge us of the guilt of publique violence, robbery murder, perjury, treason, resistance of the Ordinance of God, and of forcing others against their consciences by act or aid to resist with us. Now all these evils are universally committed all over the Kingdom, and all these evils upon no other warrant done, than that the good of Reformation (as is pretended) may come thereon. So make we the Word of God of none effect, while we entertain and preferre the Jesuitique tradition before it, and maintain that what is for the good of the Church must be done, notwithstanding any bonds of duty, of Faith, or Oath whatsoever to the contrary.

And if wee examine the grounds of this feare, and what just suspicion and probability of such an innovation, as is pretended to be feared, is given. We see for our assurance to the contrary, that His Majesty (after once He was truly informed of our grievances) condescended not onely to give us ease of them, but to make His Acts of Grace in them at once exceed the Acts of all His Predecessours since the granting of our *Magna Charta*; and did not onely in present relieve our sufferings, but (often invoking the sacred Majesty of God, as a severe Witness of His purpose for the time to come) tie himselfe for ever to settle matters of Religion according to the purest times of the Protestant Church of *England* (with such ease for tender Consciences, as by a lawfull judgement of the Clergie should be judged fit) and to governe according to the knowne Lawes of the Land. Here is little signe of one led by evill counsaile, or of a minde that would subdue Law and Religion to the satisfaction of His private will. This shews our feare to be both groundlesse and wicked; and indeed, after this if jealousie it selfe could yet make scruple of any thing, how easie were it for the wisdom of the Body Representative, by preparing a Law of severity against the instruments of innovation, exposing their persons and fortunes to certain ruine, nullifying the innovations themselves, and discharging the subject from all obedience and conformitie unto them, to have secured the Kingdome against all manner of feare in that kind, when as His Majestie freely offers His Gracious assent to any Act that should in that behalte be necessary.

But (if what cause, what ground, what reason of duty soever we finde, though constantly and universally received for true, both by the judgement of our Law, and by the authority of our Religion, we must

must notwithstanding reject all to believe the all concluding judgment of the Body Representative, whom we never knew to have such Supremacy of judgement, till it self bearing witness of it self did tell us so) it cannot yet but make much to the satisfaction of the conscience, to examine how well the two Houses, now sitting, do attain the condition of a full and free Assembly of two Houses of Parliament, that pretend to have such judgement.

And first it is known that the House of Commons now sitting, however elected, was never yet perfected by a right determination of Elections, but that some set as Members there that ought not to have been returned, and some are not received that yet were rightly chosen, some are excluded for having hands in Monopolies, and projects; and others (as much interested in them) for their assured affection retained: the greatest part of both Houses, by means of popular menacings, tumults, poasting up of names, branding men with the name of Malignants (things never known before in Parliaments) and again undeserved expellings from the House, or imprisonings, have been so over-awed, that they have been forced to suppress their Votes, to give them contrary to their judgements, to hide themselves, or to flee from the Houses; the residue of both Houses, (and among them the Knights and Burgesses which the Countries sent to reside in Parliament, that there the whole Representative advising together, might with more safety Vote and consent for us) they make over their Countries trust to a few Committees of their own, and wholly betake themselves to martiall Offices and employments, exercising in them a new found arbitrary power over those that sent them. And then the remainder of the Peeres and Commons (which are scarce a fourth part of them) call themselves the Parliament, and all the known rights of Sovereignty does this Epitome of Parliament assume unto themselves and exercise; yea, the House of Commons alone (notwithstanding their Protestation to God for the Defence of the Lawes and Liberty of the Subject) by warrant under their Speakers hand, beyond all Law and example, imprison Subjects, that were never Members of their House, and deny them their *Habeas Corpus*. And not onely invade the Liberty of the Commons, but presse upon the House of Lords, the voting of things which in a full House they had before, upon mature advice, orderly rejected. They seconded a tumultuous Petition that demanded the names of the Lords that had dissented from the Commons House, though the dissenters were the

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the *major* part of the House of Lords. This Epitome of Parliament hath taught that which never Parliament knew before, That their Members may not without the Order of their House be restrained, no not for Treason. And, professing tender care of the Kings Honour and safety, hath authorised Bookes, wherein His Sovereignty is made subject to the Representative of His Subjects, and wherein the deposing of our English Kings by their Subjects is declared warrantable; and upon the authority and warrant of this Parliament must the poor Christian Subject that is under their power (against his Conscience) act and give aide to the Army, which against the Kings expresse Command and Proclamations they have levied; when though conscious horror and shame will not suffer it to be acknowledged to be raised against the King; yet are their Souldiers sure they shall meet with no other opposite than with their rightfull Sovereigne, and His Followers arming for the safety of His Person, for the due Priviledges of the first of the three Orders of Parliament, and for the necessary power wherewith He is to protect Religion, Lawes, and Subjects of His Kingdom. Who that makes conscience of what he does, as one that must make account for it before the great Tribunal (where a little integrity (though now despised) and a little innocence of cause shall bring one more support than either King on the one side, or Parliament on the other, or Army on either side) who (I say) thereof mindfull, can against the thousand witnesses of his conscience, recede from the duty which all his life, till now, hath both by Law and Christian Religion been inculcate to him, and rejecting all, cast himself soul, body, and fortunes, wholly upon the new-found warrant of strangely conditioned apparition of Parliament.

These, and other particulars that may be instanced in, take off the confidence and repose that one would otherwise have in the two Houses, (specially when they (setting on foot claimes and pretences, not agreeing with the duty that men from their youth have found their consciences ever bound unto) go not the faire and open way of satisfaction, to have in so high concerns the Parliament Rolls as freely and fully searched on the Kings behalfe, as on the Parliaments, and to have their new and strange learning, as freely argued by the Kings Councell, and by the Judges, as by the instruments of the Parliament: but as the Papacy, in invading the Sovereignty of the Church, Voted her self into the Supremacy, and then suppressed all examination of the Truth by damming all Writings to

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the contrary, and branding the Anthours and users of them with the name of Heretickes : So we invading the Sovereignitie of our own State, Vote our selves into it, brand with the name of Malignants, all that concur not with us in it, interdict them the freedome of search and discoverie of the Truth, and damne their Writings as scandalous and seditious Pamphlets; and so making them Vote-convicted State Heretickes, We thenceforth hold no Faith nor Truth to be kept toward them, but prosecute them as Enemies to the State, for no other offence but because we have made them Malignants, popishly affected, dissolute, desperate, blood-sucking Cavaliers and plunderers.

Yet truly, if we consider the qualitie of them that adhere unto His Majestie and to His Cause do now lie under that censure, we shall finde them the flower and greater part of our Nobilitie and Gentry of the Kingdoms, the greater part of His Majesties Honourable Privie Council, yea and of His Great Councell too, even of the Peeres and Commons, the chiefe of the Judges, and with them the opinion of the residue even of the whole Profession, the spirits and prayers of the far greatest part of the Clergie, and the hearts of the greater part of the most substantiall men of the Commonalty, whose soule and conscience, presented with the consideration of these things, would not shrink with inward horrour to thinke he should ever attempt or give aide to the cutting off (not like David, of a lap of his Soveraignes ordinary garment) but of this lively apparrell-politique of his Soveraigne, wherewith for safety, as well as ornament, His Majestie is now begirt; nay, to cut off the very limbes of his Civill bodie, and not without eminent danger to His Sacred Person, how loud and frightfull would the spirit of David cry in the ears of his guilty conscience, *The Lord forbid I should doe this thing to lift up mine hand against the Lords Anointed.*

O but Religion is now at stake, and it is not to be beleevd that popishly affected Counsellors and Commanders with the help of a popish Armie should so much forsake their own ends as to fight for Establishment of the true Protestant Religion: truly it is sincerely confessed, it is not likely, and therefore I shall never beleieve that the Designe of Reforming our Religion by the hands of Brownists, Anabaptists, and Sectaries, (which by a constant and credible report, is beleevd to have been so much fostered and advanced



by the Cardinall *Richelieu* and the late French Embassadour, as that *Chambers* the Cardinals Secretary was on purpose sent into the *Scottish Army* here in *England*) was ever with intent of Establishing the true Protestant Religion, or that for the Protestant Religions sake, the death of the Cardinall was by some of our active Parliament men (in our hearing) lamented as of a great friend of the Parliament, or that the great correspondence and intercourse observed to be between the late French Embassadour and Master *Pym*, was for the advancement of the Protestant Religion. But where is any popish Army, under the conduct of popish Commanders, that according to the Designe of popish Counsellours, is likely to oppress the Protestants, and advance Popery? Certainly, both his Majesty, and his Protestant Followers are well assured, that not any part of the Warre is managed by the Designe of persons that are so affected; but who knows not the ground of calumny? The King must either deny his Subjects that are Papists the protection of his Army, and refuse their aide and service, or else their aide and service must make his Army a popish Army: surely not to admit them into his Army, when they cannot otherwise be safe, were unjustly to deny them the protection of Subjects, and to spare them (either in their personall or pecuniary assistance) were with inequality toward his Protestant Subjects, and with danger to their Cause, to refuse his needfull duties from the Papists: though therefore Protestants should never lay down their jealousy of the growth of Popery, yet should they not let it so abuse them, as to make them believe they have no danger to feare but onely Popery; especially now when Schisme and Sectarisme do with such authority invade us, and when nothing can more advance the bringing in of Popery, if it be possible, than the confusion in Church and State that does inevitably follow them (the expectation whereof was the cause that made the Cardinall and the popish party from beyond sea so effectually labour the promoting of them.) Undoubtedly, if Popery be at this time to be feared, it is to be feared from the prevailing of Schismatics by the Designe & manage of so potent and active forraigne Instruments of Popery; and it would return with comfortable satisfaction to our consciences, that having for a feigned feare of Popery engaged ourselves in reall Rebellion, we should finde our paines rewarded with the felicity of becoming instruments of the evil that

that at so deare a rate we did unnecessarily resist.

When in every thing considerable to resolution, the conscience is on every hand so strongly beset with reasons, all concluding for obedience to our Sovereigne, and for our utmost assistance to His Cause. How weak is the sole Authority of an imperfect representative of Peeres and Commons, so to possess the conscience with perswasion to the contrary, as upon it to venture the present and eternal safety of ones self, and of so many thousands in our *Israel*.

But say that this world were only to be considered in the businesse; let us yet but see what must needs be the event, in case the Parliament Forces (which God forbid) should prevaile; either they must leave the Sovereignitie in the King as it was before, and content themselves with strict Lawes against all grievances that may be feared in Religion or in Government: (and then they bring no more to passe then what His Majesty, before their Warre, did of himselfe, and does yet graciously offer) or else they must take the soveraigne power from the King, into their own hand, and leave him no more (at most) than the contemptible name of King, then shall we loose our old legall Government, and be governed by the absolute arbitrary and tyrannicall way of their Votes, and they, to secure themselves in that new and uncouth way of Government that they must institute, must (to the overthrow of Trade, and intolerable burthen of the Subject) keep the Kingdom under perpetuall Garrisons; and then what with the Faction and discord of our ambitious New-States, what with the unrulinesse of the commanding Souldier, and what with the attempts of those whose fidelity will ever excite their utmost endeavour for their Sovereignes never dying right, we shall fall into an incessant Civill Warre, (untill the Kingdom being ruined) the Sovereignty returne into the hand to which it rightfully belongeth.

Unlesse therefore it please God, that our great *Metropolis* of *London* (partaking rather of the wise spirit of the men of *Abel*, than of *2 Sam. 20. 16.* the obstinacie of *Gibeab* the *Benjamite*) shall either deal so effectually with those that there reside in shew of Parliament, as that they bring them to yeeld to the equality of a free and legall Parliament, and so provide against future grievances, without any violation of the Rights of the Crown: or else, (in case they refuse) shall like the *Abelites*, deliver unto the King the Heads of those opposites

*Judges 20.*

that rise up against Him. We may assure our selves that that Cittle like those of *Gibeah* and *Benjamin*, are hardened to all our *Israel's* punishment, and to their own destruction, and may (as they did) prevaile once, and again, against the residue of the Kingdom, untill they have fulfilled Gods determined Visitation upon the Land, and then consummate all with their deplorable destruction.



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A SHORT  
DECLARATION  
Of the KINGDOM of  
SCOTLAND,

For Information and Satisfaction to their  
Brethren of ENGLAND, concerning  
the present Expedition into  
ENGLAND.

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Printed at *Edinburgh* by *Evan Tyler*, Printer to the  
Kings most Excellent Majestie. And reprinted at *London*  
for *Robert Bostocke*, dwelling at the signe of the  
Kings-head in *Pauls Churchyard*. 1644. 1643

# A SHORT DECLARATION OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND

For Information and Satisfaction  
Brethren of the Kingdom  
the Prince of Wales  
EVAN



Printed at Edinburgh by Evan Vint, Printer to the  
Highmost Excellent Majesty. And are sold at London  
for Robert Baskin, dwelling at the sign of the  
King's-head in Pauls Church-yard 1644.





A SHORT  
DECLARATION  
Of the KINGDOM Of  
SCOTLAND.

**A**Lthough we have reason to beleeeve that the bloody and barbarous attempts of the Papists and their Faction, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and the manifold oppressions and miseries endured by those that stand well affected to the Protestant Religion, and their Countries Liberty, have made way in the hearts of men for the ready entertainment of assistance from their Brethren, whose earnest desire it is, and whose utmost endeavour it shall be, to preserve and restore both unto them: Yet knowing how industrious the malice of the Devill and his instruments are, in raising Prejudices, and fomenting Jealousies betwixt them whose hearts and mindes ought to be one, because their happinesse is the same, and particularly betwixt us and our Brethren of *England*, that by dividing us from each other, they might destroy us both: And that this our second Expedition into *England* (which we doubt not but God will blesse, to the advantage of that Nation, as he did our first, to the happinesse of our owne) instead of wonder and opposi-

on, may finde the cheerfull concurrence of all those who together with us desire, The Preservation and Reformation of Religion: The honour and happinesse of the King; The Peace and Libertie of the Kingdoms: We thought fit to premise this short, but free and ingenuous Declaration, of our Grounds and Intentions in this our present undertaking, that so we may meet with none but such as we may either finde peaccable or leave inexcusable.

Whereas therefore the greatest questions that are like to arise in this businesse, may be reduced to these three particulars, *viz.* *The iustnesse of our Cause: The lawfulnessse of our calling thereto: And The faithfulnessse of our carriages therein:* We ihill hereby endeavour to give satisfaction in them all, and doubt not to doe it, unlesse there remain some whose inveterate malice hath produced in them a resolution to be unsatisfied.

As for the cause and ground of this undertaking, we are not ignorant with how much earnestnesse the sons of flander and perdition ( whose custome is to traduce those proceedings which they know not how to disappoint ) do endeavour to possess the hearts of our Brethren, that we are coming to fish in the troubled waters of *England*, to seek and take our own advantages in the midst of your necessities. But suffer not your eares, much lesse your hearts, to be open to any such delusions, wherof we trust your eyes shall shortly witnesse the falshood. For as hereafter we doubt not to appeal to our carriages and your consciences, besides your late experience of our Religious observance of our former Declarations of this kinde; so in the meane time give us leave to appeal to the great searcher of hearts, who knows; That had not the love of Christ, requiring Christians to beare one anothers burden; and the Law of nature, challenging our utmost care and endeavor, for the prevention of our own danger and ruine, which an ordinary understand-

derstanding will easily see to be wrapped up in our neighbors,  
 And our dutie, and desire of rescuing the King from the dan-  
 gers wherein he is involved, by the company and pernicious  
 Counsell of those who are enemies to Religion, his Majesties  
 happinesse, and Peace of his Dominions; Called and com-  
 pelled us to this Service, we could, with far more content and  
 satisfaction to our selves, have enjoyed with quietnesse our *dry*  
*morsell, then entred into your houses full of sacrifices with strife:*  
 Which yet since we are required and necessitated to, by that  
 just Culling, hereafter to be mentioned, *we professe before God*  
*and the world,* that our hearts and thoughts are clean and free  
 from any other intentions then those expressed in our solemn  
 League and Covenant, in which we are confederate with Eng-  
 land, *viz.* The Preservation and Reformation of Religion;  
 The Honour and Happinesse of the King; and, The Peace and  
 Liberties of the Kingdoms. All which we now apprehend to  
 be deeply endangered, by the Counsels and Confederacies of  
 Papists, Prelats, Maliguants, and their adherents, so prevalent  
 in *Eng. and Ireland:* And we shall no otherwise desire a  
 blessing upon our endeavours, then as they shall be directed to  
 the conservation and establishment thereof.

And because it is not sufficient to be engaged in a good  
 Cause, unless by a good calling, we do hereby further declare,  
 That though the inseparable interests of both Nations in their  
 Religion and Liberties, which having the same common Ene-  
 mies, must look to stand and fall together, might have given  
 us sufficient warrant to have endeavoured the prevention of  
 our own ruine, by preserving our Friends and Brethren from  
 destruction: yet that we might be the more fully and formal-  
 ly obliged to this Christian duty and service, and so the mouth  
 of slander and malice be stopped, God hath so ordered things  
 in his wise and just providence, that the Parliament of Eng-  
 and, who (beside their interest in the Preservation and Refor-

marion

mation of Religion, and the defence of the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, to which our help is required) have a particular obligation upon this Nation, (As we have formerly declared our Intentions published before our last Expedition) for refusing to countenance or maintaine a Warre against us, in the yeere 1640. have thought fit by their Commissioners enabled to that effect, to desire a firm Union with us, and this just and necessary assistance from us.

And whereas it is too obvious an Objection, That the Kings command or consent being no ingredient, our Calling is thereby rendred deficient: We answer, That though, through the injury of mischievous Counsels, both his Person and personall Commands are withheld from us: Yet his Honour, his Happiness, his Posterity, his great Council, and the welfare of his Kingdoms, call importunately to us for this timely interposing. So that, unlesse we can (which God forbid) blot out of our thoughts the sense of Piety & Religion toward God, of Honor and Duty toward our Sovereigne, and of Gratitude toward the Parliament and Kingdome of *England*, we can in no wise resist our present Call to this undertaking.

And lastly, for what concerns the manner of the pursuance, of this just Cause and lawfull Calling: Although the many frustrate Petitions and Remonstrances from both Kingdomes presented to his Majesty, have left us onely this way, which yet is not intended against his Majesties Person, nor any of his good Subjects, but those Enemies of the King and Kingdomes, with whom no other meanes can prevaile: Yet we shall diligently endeavour so to order the Affaires of our Army, that all Infolencies, Rapines, Plunderings, and those other calamities that usually attend upon Watre, may be prevented. And herein as with no small content to our selves, so with no lesse satisfaction to you, are we able to referre you to the experience of our former Expedition (when our owne necessitie drove us into *England*

land, is now yours do'cal us) to consider how little damage was occasioned by our meanes, how little disorder was committed by us in any place where we came: And we hereby promise the like care and diligence shall be renewed, and if possible doubled to that effect.

And that we may not be looked with the prejudice of Strangers, which we hope the firme Union of this mutuall Covenant will weare out, There is a Committee of your owne Nation, the most of which are Parliament men, such to whom you have committed the trust and care of your Religion, Laws and Liberties, joyned with us, without whose concurrence nothing that concernes you is to be transacted. And to free you of all unjust suspicion, which if your minds are not ready to conceive, yet the malicious mouthes of our adversaries and yours are ready to suggest, That notwithstanding this Declaration, we have some sinister and secret ends which may prove prejudiciall to your Rights and happinesse: *Be it hereby made knowne* unto you, that we have freely engaged our selves, by an Article of the late Treaty betwixt the Nations, to give the publike Fairb of the Kingdome of *Scotland* unto the Kingdome of *England*, that neither our entrance into, nor continuance in that Kingdome, shall be made use of to any other ends then expressed in the Covenant, and that Treaty subscribed to us by the Commissioners of both Kingdomes, which we are resolved, to the honour of God and of this Nation, to keep inviolate.

And as our Friends and Brethren may looke for actions conforme to the expressions of this Declaration, so must the Malignants and implacable opposers of the ends declared in our Covenant, expect nothing but an impartiall and vigorous prosecution of the same: In which, if any evill befall them, we are confident that the judgement of wise and indifferent men will reduce it to themselves, as the wilfull Authors thereof.

And!



And finally we declare (against all false and artificial relations) that we are so farre from desiring harme or losse to any of our Brethren of *England*, that our sincere and reall intentions are not to adde fuell, nor bring oyle, but water to extinguish these lamentable combustions and fires, which we have with so much duty and love laboured to quench: That our raking of Armes is not to make Wars (if we be not necessitated) but to obtaine a better grounded and a more durable Peace, for enjoying of our Religion and Liberties in all the three Kingdomes: And that the wicked (who are the unworthy authors of all our troubles) being removed from our King, a right understanding may be established betwixt his Majesty and his people. And as we have solemnly sworn to protect and defend all who shall enter in, and adhere to this Covenant: So doe we certainly expect, that all our Brethren in *England* who are zealous for the true Protestant Religion, loyall to the King, and faithfull for their Country, will joyne and coneur with us in the most noble and just wayes of procuring these just desires: Which being obtained, we shall be most willing and ready to returne to our native Country, esteeming it our greatest happinesse, that Truth with Peace may be established in all His Majesties Dominions.



*Arch. Primrose.*

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As also,

London

Jan:

*R Scotland* THE 16  
*Army* Scots Army advanced  
INTO  
ENGLAND

Certified in a Letter, Dated from  
*Addarston*, the 24 of *January*:  
From his Excellencies the Lord Ge-  
nerall *Lesley's* Quarters.

With the Summoning of the County of  
*Northumberland*: Expressed in a Letter by the  
*Commissioners* and *Committees* of both King-  
domes, to Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governor  
of NEWCASTLE,  
And to the Colonells, Officers and Gentlemen  
of the forenamed County:

*With Sir Tho: Glemhams Answer therunto.*

Together, With a DECLARATION of the  
Committees, for Billeting of Souldiers in those parts.

As also, The ARTICLES and ORDINANCES  
for the governing their Army.

---

London, Printed for Robert Bostock, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard,

*Jan: 30<sup>th</sup>* at the signe of the Kings head. 1644. 1643

THE  
Scores Army advanced

INTO

ENGLAND

Entered in a Letter to the  
Address, the 24th January  
From the Hon. the Secretary  
per the Hon. the Secretary

With the sanction of the  
Members of the House of  
Commons, to the Hon. the Secretary  
of the House of Commons

of NEWCASTLE  
And to the Hon. the Secretary  
of the House of Commons

Was the Hon. the Secretary  
of the House of Commons  
of the House of Commons

And the Hon. the Secretary  
of the House of Commons  
of the House of Commons

And the Hon. the Secretary  
of the House of Commons  
of the House of Commons



THE  
S C O T S  
Army Advanced  
INTO  
ENGLAND;

Certified in a Letter, Dated from *Addarston*,  
The 24. of *January*:

From His EXCELLENCIES the Lord  
Generall *Lesley's* Quarters.

**S**Ir, if occasion had offered, I had acquainted you  
with all our affairs here; but the windes have  
been contrary these five weeks; I shall now give  
you the more full account. The Committee of  
States fearing the slownesse of the Counties in  
leaving our Forces in this season of the year, and per-  
ceiving that the sitting of the Session, and other ordi-  
nary

nary Judicatories, did much hinder the setting forward of our Army, did adjourn them upon the 23 of *December*, to the first of *February*; and sent further Instructions to all the Shires, ordaining the Committees of the severall Shires, Colonells, and all other Officers, to raise as many as they could for the present, and give those free Quarter upon the rest of the County, till they had their full number in readinesse: withall, assuring those Counties who should be first in readinesse, That the Counties who were last in sending their Regiments to the place of Rendevouz, should be liable to the whole expence and charge they should be put to in attending those Shires, who should not come about the time appointed.

Upon the third of *January*, the Convention of States met together at *Edinburgh*, where nothing was left undone, which might advance the Army then on foot, in the severall Counties.

Upon the 7 and 10, a Generall Fast was kept thoroughout the whole Kingdom.

Upon the ninth, the States did take into their consideration the expedience of sending some Commissioners to both Houses of Parliament; and appointed the Earl of *London* Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Maisland*, the Lord *Wariston*, and Master *Robert Barclay*, Commissioners; whereof the Lord *Wariston*, and Master *Robert Barclay* are to repair thither with the first opportunity, and my Lord Chancellour the beginning of *February*.

Upon the 11, some Officers of the Scottish Army in *Ireland* came to the Convention, to represent their hard condition, and extreme necessities; That the com-  
mon



mon Souldiers had neither stockings, shooes, nor clothes, but a Mantle of gray Cloth wrapped about them; That in one place 200 of them died by Famine; That these 20 moneths they had no Supply from the Parliament of *England*: And considering that the Supplies which they had from their native Kingdom were now, for the most part, withdrawn, for advancing these Forces which are leavied for the assistance of the Parliament of *England*, the States would use some means with the Parliament, for payment of a proportionable part of their Arrears, and settling a sure way for their maintenance in time coming; or otherwise, That they might have the Liberty to return to their native Kingdome, rather then to famish; which undoubtedly would ensue, if one of these courses were not speedily followed. All which, the Estates having taken into their serious consideration, thought very agreeable to piety and charity.

Upon the 13, the Committee of States went to *Berwick*: And upon the 18, severall Regiments marched from *Dumbar* and the adjacent Villages, thorow a Heath ten miles long, to *Barwick*, being in all 18 Scottish miles, when it was a knee-deep Snow, and blowing and snowing so vehemently, that the Guides could with great difficulty know the way, and it was enough for the followers to discern the leaders; notwithstanding whereof, they were very cheerfull all the way; and, after they had been a little refreshed at night, professed, They were willing to march as far to morrow.

Upon Friday the 19, there marched over from *Berwick* three Regiments of Foot, together with 13 Troops of Horse. And towards night, the Committees of both

(4)  
both Kingdoms sent a Trumpeter to Sir Thomas Glemham, Colonell Gray, and the rest of the Officers and Gentlemen of Northumberland; the Copie whereof, together with Sir Thomas his dilatory Answer, I have sent you here enclosed.

Upon the 22, the Gentlemen of Northumberland met together at Anwick, where Sir Thomas Glemham propounded to them these three Questions:

1. *What should be done with those places of the County which were not yet in the possession of the Scots, and which they were not able to protect.*

2. *What answer should be given to the Letter of the two Committees.*

3. *And whether they should fight with the Scots Army.*

In the first the were divided. The York-shire Officers think it most expedient that the Countrey should be burned, wasted and destroyed; and the Northumberland Officers and Gentlemen opposed that resolution, saying, That they had hazarded their lives and fortunes as well as others, and they would take this for a small recompence of their labours, to have their Countrey wasted and spoyled.

To the second likewise they gave different answers, some thinking it fittest to give a fair answer to so fair a Letter; others, That it could not be answered by them, but must be sent to the Earl of Newcastle; and a third sort being of the opinion, That it must be sent to His Majestie, before any answer could be returned.

In the third, they were all unanimous declining by all means to fight; yet with resolution to come off with some credit, and with these sixteen Troupes of Horse, and two Regiments of foot, which they have at Anwick,  
some

some eight Drakes, 20. peeces of Ordnance (which they had from a Dutch Flee-Boat, that run a shore neer that place) to defend the Bridge, though they well know the Town may be invaded at any other place.

Upon the 20, there marched other two Regiments from *Barwick* to *Haggerston*, *Gozick*, &c.

Upon the 23, Lievttenant Generall *Bayly*, marched from *Kelfo* to *Wolter*, and the adjacent Villages, with six Regiments of foot, and a Regiment of Horse, and the same day, there came other two Regiments to the Generall from *Barwick*; and the five Regiments which marched formerly came to *Belford* and *Addarston*, which was the head Quarter that night: On Wednesday the Generall stayed at *Addarston*, till the Artillery should come up, which came to *Barwick* by Sea on Munday at night, the Windes having been contrary for a long time, and that he might the better correspond with the Lievttenant Generall, who was eight Miles distant from him, and nine or ten Miles from *Anwick*, to whom he sent Orders to meet him at *Anwick* on Thursday in the forenoon; we are confident, by Gods assistance, our Quarters shall be about the Town of *Newcastle* upon Saturday the 27 of this Instant; which if they will not yeeld up, we have no purpose to stay there, unlesse it be to seize on the Block-Houses upon the River, that the Parliament Ships may come in safely (for there is no fear from the Castle) & meet with those 10 or 11 Ships which now ly there fraughted with the Malignants Goods. There is a Regiment of Foot at *Barwick*, and other three upon the Border, which are to march over as soon as the other Regiments march forward, for otherwise they can have no Quarters; There are likewise two Regiments of

of Horſe, ſome of them with the Artillery, ſome in *Barwick*, and others of them upon the Border; all to march over at *Barwick* on Thursday and Friday; and from *Kelfo* 2 Regiments of Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe. There are in all eighteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, and betwixt four and five hundred Dragoons, beſides Baggage-Horſe, and the Garrifon at *Barwicke*, already within this Kingdom, and within a dayes march of the Borders. There be likewise two Regiments of Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe coming from the North.

This is a true and faithfull Relation of the buſineſſes here, whereof I was an eye-witneſſe, for the moſt part. I am

Your known and affectionate  
Friend,

From our Head-Quarters;  
at *Adderſlow* the 24. *January*.

1644.



A

*A Letter from the Commissioners and  
Committees of both Kingdoms, to Sir*

*Thomas Glenham, and the rest of  
the Commanders.*

*Gentlemen,*

**A**lthough wee justly presume that the solemn mutuall Covenant entred into by both Kingdoms, hath long since come to your hands, and likewise that you have had notice of the raising of the Army desired by the Parliament of *England* for the prosecution of those ends therein expressed; *viz.* The preservation and reformation of Religion, the true honour and happinesse of the King, and the publick peace and liberty of his Dominions. Yet that it may appeare both to you and all the world how unwilling we are to make a forcible use of these armes which we have beene constrained by the disappointment of all other meanes of safety to take up, We the Commissioners and Committees of both Kingdoms have thought fit, besides that Declaration (a copy whereof we herewith send) lately emitted in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for the satisfaction of the people concerning the entrance of this their Army, to take more particular notice of you the chiefe Gentlemen and Commanders, hoping likewise that things of so great and considerable consequence will finde with you such entertainment as may answer the weight and importance of them. We will not so much wrong the cause we have undertaken, as to goe about after so many evident Demonstrations of the necessity of our present  
B posture,



posture, to dispute it with you, but rather in stead of arguments we think it reasonable to acquaint you with our well weighed resolutions, which are, through the assistance of that God in whose cause we are engaged, and whose strength wee trust in, with our utmost industry and hazard to endeavour the prevention of that imminent danger not only of corruption but of ruine, which we see evidently intended to the true Protestant Religion by the Popish and Prelaticall faction, who never wanted will; but now thinks they want not strength and opportunity to accomplish it; as also the rescuing of his Majesties person and honour so deeply and unhappily entangled in the counsels and practises of them, whose actions speak their ends to be little better then Popery and Tyranny, and the redeeming the peace and liberty of his Majesties dominions, in which the Irish Rebellion, and the sad and unnaturall divisions in *England* have made so great a breach; To the accomplishment of these so just and honourable designes, wee have reason to expect the concurrence of all men who either are or pretend a due love to their Religion, King, and Countrey; and shall be very sorry to want yours: but if mis-information or any other unhappy grounds shall so farre prevaile with you as to reckon us in the number of your enemies, (which certainly we are not if you be friends to those ends mentioned in our Covenant) and if in stead of that concurrence with us which we wish and hope to deserve, we finde from you opposition and acts of hostility, the Law of nature and your owne reason will tell you what you are to expect; we only adde that though it will not a little trouble us to see men withstanding

not only us but their owne good and happinesse, yet it doth in good measure satisfie us that wee have not neglected this or any other meanes to the best of our power or understanding, to prevent these inconveniences and mischiefes that may arise from those acts of force which we shall be necessitated unto.

Subscribed at Berwick 20 Januarii 1644 by the warrant and in name of the Commistees of both Kingdoms, by us your friends

Argyle  
W. Armyne.

*Postscript.*

One of these direct to Sir Thomas Glemham, and the rest of the Commanders with him at Alnwick or elsewhere.

## Sir Thomas Glemhams Answer.

My Lord.

I Have received by your Trumpeter a Letter from your Lordship and Sir William Armyne; it is long and of great concernment; and the other directed to Colonnell Gray, who for the reason before-mentioned, and for that here are none but Officers, be cannot return you an Answer so suddenly by your Trumpeter: But I will send presently to the Gen-

element of the County to come hither, and then you shall receive my Answer with the Officers, and theirs by themselves, by a Trumpeter of my own. So I rest

Alnwick 20 Ja-  
nuary 1644.

Your Servant

Tho. Glenhame

### *A Declaration of the Committees for Billeting the Souldiers.*

**W**Hereas the two Houses of the Parliament of England, considering the great and apparent danger of Religion and Liberty, in regard of the great Forces of Papists and others employed for the destruction thereof; have by their Commissioners desired the assistance of the Kingdom of Scotland to joyn with them in the just and honourable endeavours of preserving and reforming Religion, procuring the honour and happinesse of the King now engaged in Councell prejudiciall to himselfe and his Kingdomes, and of settling and maintaining the peace and liberty of the Dominions. And whereas the Kingdome of Scotland have readily yeilded thereunto, and raised an Army for the ends above expressed, which is to be ordered by the Committees and Commissioners of both Kingdomes.

We the said Commissioners and Committees, being desirous to take the most orderly and reasonable way for the Provision of the said Army, have thought fit by

by this short Declaration to acquaint you with what is expected from you the Inhabitants of those parts through which this Army shall passe, that so you may not be oppressed with arbitrary Taxes and unreasonable spoyles, which you have suffered from those who have lived amongst you and upon you.

This is a cause and time wherein the endeavours of every one who loves his Religion, King or Countrey, ought to be exprest to the utmost, and that which is required at your hands, is to provide and furnish to your best ability, those Souldiers that shall be quartered with you with such provisions as shall bee necessary, not exceeding the allowances and rates mentioned in a schedule hereafter written, hereunto annexed.

And for the better keeping of accounts of what is delivered by you to the Officers and Souldiers according to the Rates of the said schedule, We desire that two sufficient men in every Town, Hamblet or Parish, the one for the horse, and the other for the foot, may exactly take and keep Notes of the Billities of every particular, and of what shall be delivered to every one of them.

Particular horseman and footman, that so allowance and satisfaction may bee made to every Inhabitant accordingly, which wee will take care shall bee speedily done either out of the Estates of Papists and other Delinquents against the Parliament, or otherwise as wee shall bee enabled thereunto.

Nor have you any reason to distrust us in this behalf, if you call to minde the equall proceedings you have heretofore found from the Scottish Army at their former entrance. And in so doing, you shall besides the service which you doe to the publike, free your

selves from any irregular carriages of the Souldiers, and be the better enabled to require a just satisfaction for any injury done you against or beyond this Order, of which we hereby assure you.

*A Schedule of Allowance to be made to Officers and Souldiers, horse and foot, in the Scottish Army for their entertainment in their march, or as they shall be quartered in England, not exceeding these Proportions and Rates here under mentioned, vizt.*

	L. S. D.
To a Major of the horse daily	00.06.00.
To a Root-master or Capt. of horse daily	00.06.00.
To a Lieutenent of horse daily	00.04.00.
To a Cornet	00.02.06.
To each Corporall, Quartermaster, and Trumpeter	00.01.06.
To every Trooper for his own diet daily	00.01.00.
For every horse Officer or Trooper, of straw five sheaves, or a stone of hay at 24 houres	00.00.04
And of Oates, the measure of three English Gallones at	00.00.06.
If the Countrey people have no Oates they may have them at the Magazine at <i>Barwick</i> , and shall have allowance for the carrying of them.	
The Lieutenent Colonell of foot daily	00.05.00.
The Major of foot daily	00.04.00.
The Captaine	00.03.00.
The Lieutenant	00.02.00.
The	



	L. S. D.
The Ensigne	00.01.06.
The Quarter-master	00.02.00.
The Serjeant	00.01.00.
The Corporall and Drummers, each	00.00.08
The common Souldiers daily	00.00.06.
To the Carriage-man, the like entertainment as one common foot Souldier; For the Carriage horse three penney-worth of straw or hay, and two penney- worth of Oates.	
The Dragoner is to have for himselfe eight pence aday, and for his horse three penney-worth of straw or hay, and a groats-worth of Oates.	
The Officers of Dragoners are to have entertainment at discretion, not exceeding the Rates following;	
The Lieutenent Colonell daily	00.06.00.
The Major daily	00.05.00.
The Captaine daily	00.04.00.
The Lieutenent daily	00.03.00.
The Ensigne daily	00.02.06.
The Serjeant daily	00.01.04.
The Corporall and Drummer, each	00.00.10.

*FINIS.*

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ARTICLES

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ORDINANCES

OF WARRE:

For the present Expedition of the Army  
of the Kingdome of

SCOTLAND.

*By the Committee of Estates, and his Excellence, the Lord Generall  
of the Army.*



Printed at *Edinburg* by *Evan Tyler*, Printer to the Kings most  
Excellent Majesty. And reprinted at *London* for *Robert Bostocks*, dwelling at the Signe of the Kings-  
Head in *Pauls Church-yard*. 1644 1643

ARTICLES

1860

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For the purpose of



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By the Committee of

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# Articles & Ordinances of War, &c.



That no man pretend ignorance, and that everie one may know the dutie of his place, that he may do it; The Articles and Ordinances following, are to be published at the generall Rendezvous in everie Regiment apart, by the Majors of the severall Regiments, and in the presence of all the Officers. The same

*The publishing of the Articles & Ordinances of War.*

shall afterward be openly read to every Company of Horse and Foot, and at such times as shall be thought most convenient by the Lord Generall: and in like manner shall be made knowne to so many as joyne themselves to be professed Souldiers in the Army. For this end, everie Colonell and Captaine shall provide one of those Books, that hee may have it in readinesse at all occasions, and every Souldier shall solemnly sweare this following Oath:

**I** N. N. promise and sweare to be true and faithful in this Service, according to the heads sworn

*The Souldiers Oath.*



by me in the Solemne League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes: To honour and obey my Lord Generall, and all my superiour Officers and Commandrs, and by all meanes to hinder their dishonour and hurt: To observe carefully all the Articles of War and Camp-Discipline: never to leave the defence of this Cause, nor flee from my Colours so long as I can follow them: To be ready to watching, warding, and working, so farre as I have strength: To endure and suffer all distresses, and to fight manfully to the uttermost, as I shall answer to G O D, and as G O D shall help me.

## I.

*Kirk Discipline.*

Kirk Discipline shall be exercised, and the sick cared for in every Regiment, by the particular Eldership, or Kirk-Session to be appointed, even as useth to be done in every Parish in the time of Peace: And that there may be an uniformitie thorowout the whole Army in all matters Ecclesiasticall, there shall be a generall Eldership, or common Ecclesiastick Judicatory, made up of all the Ministers of the Camp, and of one Elder direct from every particular Regiment, who shall also judge of Appellations made unto them from the particular Sessions or Elderships.

## II.

*Councils of War.*

For deciding of all questions, debates and quarrellings that shall arise betwixt Captains and their Souldiers, or any others of the Army, and for the better observing of Camp-Discipline, two Courts of justice, the one higher, and the other lower, are appoynted, wherein all Judges are sworne to do justice equally: The higher also to judge of Appellations to be made from

(3)  
from the lower Court. And if any man shall by word or gesture shew his contempt or mis-regard, or shall fall out in boasting or braving, while Courts are sitting, hee shall be punished by death. And both these Judicatories, as well of the Kirk matters, as of War, shall be subject to the Generall Assembly, and Committee of Estates *respective*.

### III.

Whosoever shall wilfully or carelessly absent himselfe from morning and evening Prayers, or from preaching before and after-noon on the Lords Day, or other extraordinarie times appointed for the worship of GOD, when the signe is given by sound of Trumpet or Drum, hee shall be censured and punished for his neglect or contempt, by penaltie, imprisonment, or other punishment, as his fault deserveth.

After the warning given, there shall be no Market, nor selling of Commodities whatsoever, till the Prayers or Preaching be ended, upon the paine of forfeiting the things so sold, and of the imprisoning of the offenders.

### IV.

Common and ordinary swearing and cursing, open prophaning of the Lords Day, wronging of his Ministers, and other Acts of that kind, shall not only be punished with losse of pay and imprisonment, but the Transgressors shall make their public repentance in the midst of the Congregation, and if they will not be reclaimed, they shall with disgrace be openly cashiered and discharged, as unworthy of the meanest place in the Army.

### V.

If any shall speak irreverently against the Kings Majestie & his authoritie, or shall presume to offer violence to his Majesties Person, he shall be punished as a Traytor. Hee that shall speak evill of the Cause which wee defend, or of the Kingdomes, the Parliaments, Convention of Estates, or their Committees in the defence thereof, or shall use any words to the dishonour of the Lord General, he shall be punished with death.

*Duties to  
the King,  
Country, &  
Generall.*

No man shall at his own hand, without warrant of the Committee, or of my Lord Generall, have, or keep intelligence with the enemy, by speech, letters, signes, or any other way, under the pain to be punished as a Traytour. No man shall give over any Strength, Magazin, Victuall, &c. Or make any such motion, but upon extremitie, under the same paine. No man shall give supply, or furnish money, victuall, or any commodities to the enemy, upon pain of death.

Whosoever shall be found to do violence against the Lord Generall, his Safe-guard, or Safe-conduct, shall dye for it.

Whosoever shall be found guiltie of carelesnesse and negligence in his service, although he be free of treachery and double-dealing, shall beare his owne punishment.

## VI.

### *Duties of Superiours.*

All Commanders and Officers shall be carefull, both by their authority and example, that all under their charge, live in godlinesse, sobernesse, and righteousnesse : And if they themselves shall be common swearers, cursers, drunkards, or any of them at any time shall come drunke to his Guard, or by quarrelling, or any other way shall commit any notable disorder in this quarter, losse of place shall be his punishment ; And further, according to the sentence of the Court of War.

The Captaines that shall be negligent in training their Companies, or that shall be found to withhold from their souldiers any part of their pay, shall be discharged of their place, and further censured by the Court of War.

No Commander or Officer shall conceale dangerous and discontented humours, inclined to mutinies, or grudging at the orders given them, but shall make them knowne to the prime Leaders of the Army, upon the paine to be accounted guilty of mutiny.

No Commander or Officer shall authorize, or wittingly permit any Souldier to goe forth to a singular combat, under paine of death : But on the contrary, all Officers shall be carefull by all meanes to part quarrellings amongst Souldiers, although they be of other Regiments or Companies, and shall have power

power to command them to prison, which if the Souldiers shall disobey or resist by using any weapon, they shall die for it.

No Captaine shall presume at his owne hand, without warrant of the Lord Generall, to cashier or give a Passe to any enrolled Souldier or Officer, who hath appeared at the place of the generall Rendezvous; nor shall any Commander, Officer, or Souldier depart without a Passe, or stay behinde the time appointed him in his Passe; and whosoever transgresseth the one way or the other, shall be punished at the discretion of the Court of War.

## VII.

All Souldiers shall remember that it is their part to honour and obey their Commanders, and therefore shall receive their commands with reverence, and shall make no noise, but be silent, when the Officers are commanded, or giving their directions, that they may be heard by all, and the better obeyed: he that faileth against this, shall be imprisoned. *Duties of Souldiers.*

No Souldier shall leave his Captaine, nor servant forsake his Master, whether he abide in the Army or not, but upon licence granted, and in an orderly way.

Whosoever shall presume to discredit any of the great Officers of the Army, by Writ, Word, or any other way, and be not able to make it good; & whosoever shall lift his weapon against any of them, shall be punished by death; and whosoever shall lift his hand against any of them, shall lose his hand.

No Souldier, nor inferiour Officer, shall quarrell with, or offer any injury to his superiour, nor refuse any duty commanded him, upon paine of cashiering, and to be further censured by the Court of War. And if any shall presume to strike his Superior, he shall be punished with death. But if it shall happen, that any Officer shall command any thing to the evident and knowne prejudice of the publicke, then shall he who is commanded, modestly refuse to obey, and presently give notice thereof to the Lord Generall.

If any man shall use any words or wayes, tending to mutiny or sedition, whether for demanding his pay, or upon any other cause; or if any man shall be privy to such mutinous speeches or wayes,

wayes, & shall conceal them, both shall be punished with death.

All must shew their valour against the Enemy, and not by revenging their private injuries, which upon their complaints to their superiour Officers, shall be repaired to the full. And if any man presume to take his owne satisfaction, or challenge a combate, he shall be imprisoned, and have his punishment decreed by the Marshall Court.

The Provost-Marshall must not be resisted or hindered, in apprehending or putting Delinquents in prison, and all Officers must assist him to this end; and if any man shall resist or breake prison, he shall be censured by the Court of War.

### VIII.

*Duties to  
others.*

Murther is no lesse unlawfull and intollerable in the time of War, then in the time of Peace, & is to be punished with death.

Whosoever shall be found to have forced any woman, whether he be Commander or Souldier, shall die for it without mercy. And whosoever shall be found guilty of adultery or fornication, shall be no lesse severely censured and punished then in the time of Peace.

If any common whores shall be found following the Army, if they be married women, and run away from their husbands, they shall be put to death without mercy; and if they be unmarried, they shall be first married by the hangman, and thereafter by him scourged out of the Army.

Theeves and Robbers shall be punished with the like severity. If any shall spoile or take any part of their goods that die in the Army, or are killed in service, he shall restore the double, and be further punished at discretion. It is provided, that all their goods be forth-comming, and be disposed of according to their Testament and Will, declared by word or writ before witnesses; or if they have made no Testament, to their Wives, Children, or nearest Kindred, according to the Lawes of the Kingdom.

All shall live together as friends and brethren, abstaining from words of disgrace, contempt, reproach, giving of lies, and all provocation by word or gesture: He that faileth, shall be imprisoned



prisoned for the first fault; and if he be incorrigible, he shall be with shame punished, and put out of the Army.

## IX.

All Souldiers shall come to their Colours, to watch, to be exercised, or to muster, with their owne Armes: And if any Souldier shall come with another mans Armes, he shall be punished with rigour, and the lender shall lose his Armes. All shall come also with compleate and tight Armes in a decent manner, otherwise to be severely punished. *Concerning Armes.*

If any man shall sell or give in pawne his horse, his Armes, or any part of the Ammunition committed to him: or any Instruments; as Spades, Shovels, Pickes, used in the Field, he shall for the first and second time be beaten through the quarter, and for the third time be punished as for other theft: And he that buyeth them, or taketh them to pawne, be he Souldier or Victualler, shall pay the double of the Money, beside the want of the things bought or impawned, and be further punished at discretion.

Whosoever in a debawched and lewd manner by Cards or Dice, or by sloath and unexcusable neglect, shall lose his Horse and Armes, in whole, or in part, to the hinderance of the service; And whosoever shall wilfully spoile, or breake his Armes, or any Instrument of War committed to him, by cutting downe of Trees, or any other way, he shall serve as a Pioneer, till the losse be made up, and be furnished upon his owne charges.

## X.

No man on his march, or at his lodging, within or without the Countrey upon whatsoever pretext, shall take by violence, either horse, cattell, goods, money, or any other thing lesse or more, but shall pay the ushall prices for his meat and drinke, or be furnished in an orderly way upon count, at the sight of the Commissar, according to the order given by the Committee upou paine of death, without mercy. *Concerning marching.*

If any man shall presume to pull downe, or set on fire any dwelling house, though a Cottage, or hew downe any Fruit-

trees; or to waste or deface any part of the beauty of the Countrey, he shall be punished most severely, according to the importance of the fault.

In marching, no man shall stay behinde without leave: No man shall straggle from his Troop or Company: No man shall march out of his ranke, and put others out of order, under all highest paine.

## X I.

*Of musters.* If any Colonell of Horse or Foot shall keep backe his Souldiers from the appointed musters, or shall lend his Souldiers to make a false muster, upon triall in the Court Marshall, he shall be punished as a deceiver. And if any Muster-master shall use any false Rols, shall have any hand in false Musters, or by connivence, or any other way be tryed to be accessary to them, he shall suffer the like punishment.

## X II.

*Victuallers.* No man shall presume to doe the smallest injury to any that bring necessities to the Leager, whether by stealing from them, or deceiviug them, or by violence in taking their Horse or goods, under the paine to be accounted and punished as enemies. No Victuallers shall sell rotten victuals, upon paine of imprisonment and confiscation, and further as they shall be judged to deserve.

No Souldier shall provide and sell Victuals, unlesse he be authorized, nor shall any that selleth Victuals, keep in his Tent or Hutte any Souldier at unseasonable houres, and forbidden times, under paine at discretion; Like as all the prices thereof shall be set downe by the generall Commisier, and be given to the Quarter-Master of the severall Regiments.

## X III.

*Duties in  
the Camp.*

No man enrolled professing himselfe or pretending to be a Souldier, shall abide in the Army, unlesse hee enter in some Company, nor shall he that hath entred depart without licence, upon paine of death. No man having licence shall stay beyond the time appoynted him, upon paine of the losse of his pay during the time of his absence, and further punishment at discretion.

tion. If any man in a mutinous way, shew himselfe discontent with the quarter assigned him, hee shall be punished as a mutiner. And if any man shall stay out of his quarter, or go without shot of Cannon being intrrenched, but one night, without leave of his superiour Officer, he shall be calleered.

All that shall be absent from the watch after the signe is given for the setting thereof, shall be severely punished. Hee that revealeth, or falsifieth the watch-word given by the Officer, within the Trenches, or before the Colours: He that is taken sleeping, or drunk upon his watch: Hee that commeth off the watch before the time, every one of those shall bee punished with death.

Whosoever shall assemble themselves together for taking mutinous counsell, upon whatsoever pretext; they all, whether Officers or Souldiers, shall suffer death.

**XIV.** Every man when the Alarme is given, shall repaire speedily to his Colours; no man shall forsake or flee from his Colours. *Duties in Battell.*

No man in the Countrey shall reset them that flee.

No man in the battell shall throw away his Musket, Pike, or Bandilier, all under the paine of death.

Whatsoever Regiment of Horse or Foot, having charged the enemy, shall draw back or flee before they come to stroke of sword, shall answer for it before a Councell of war; and whosoever Officer or Souldier shall be found to bee in the default, they shall be punished by death or some shamefull punishment, as the Councell of war shall find their cowardise to deserve.

**XV.**

If it shall come to passe, that the enemy shall force us to battell, and the Lord shall give us victorie, none shall kill a yeelding enemy, nor save him that still pursueth, upon paine of death. Neither shall there be any ransoming of persons, spoyle, pillaging, parting of the prey, or wasting and burning by fire, or disbanding from their charges, or Officers, but as the Lord Generall shall give order upon the same pain of death. *Duties after Battell.*

**XVI.**

*Rewards for  
the well-  
deserving.*

Every mans carriage shall be diligently observed, and he according to his merit rewarded or punished: And whatsoever Officer or Souldier shall take Commanders, or the Colours of the enemy, or in the siege of Townes shall first enter a breach, or scale the wals, and shall carry himselfe dutifully in his station, and doth his part valiantly, in skirmish or battell, shall after the laudable example of the wisest, and worthiest Kingdomes and Estates, have his honour and reward according to his worth and deserving, whether hereafter we have peace or war.

Matters that are cleare by the light and law of nature are presupposed: Things unnecessary, are past over in silence: and other things may be judged by the common customes and constitutions of war, or may upon new emergents, be expressed afterward.

**FINIS.**

DECLARATION  
OF THE  
LORDS and COMMONS  
Assembled in  
PARLIAMENT.

To the duty of Repentance (as the only  
remedy for their present calamities) with an earnest  
confession and deepe humiliation for all particular and Na-  
tional Sins, that so at length we may obtaine a firme and  
happy Peace both with God and Man, that glory may dwell in our  
Land; and the prosperity of the Gospell, with all the privi-  
leges accompanying it, may crowne this Nation.

The two crying sins of Idolatry and blood-shed  
etc. and a thorough Reformation, as God may  
be pleased graciously to accept.

Also, an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the  
strict observance of the mortherly FAST.

With his Majesties Proclamation for continuance of the  
abovesaid Fast, during the Troubles of the Kingdom of  
Ireland, worthy of observance.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that this Declaration  
and Ordinance be Printed and published.

John Browne Cler. Parl.  
Hen. Eltinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Jan. 30. London Printed for T. S. 1643.



An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in  
Parliament, Exhorting all his Majesties good Subjects in the  
Kingdome of England, and Dominion of Wales, to the duty of Repentance  
(as the onely remedy for their present calamities) with an earnest Con-  
fession, and deepe Humiliation for all particular and Nationall Sins, that to  
at length we may obtaine a true and happy Peace, both with God and  
Man.

**T**he flourishing Kingdomes have bene ruind by  
Impenitent going on in a course of Sinning, the  
Sacred Story doth plainly tell us, and how neere  
to such a Ruine our Nation now is, the pre-  
sent lamentable face of it doth too apparent-  
ly shew. And though we should feele the heavy strokes of Gods  
seven times more, it is our duty to accept the punishment of our  
Iniquity, and to say, Righteous art thou O Lord, and just are  
thy Judgements.

Yet because the Lord who is just, is also Mercifull, and in  
his infinite Mercy hath left the excellent and successefull re-  
medy of Repentance to Nations brought neere to the Gates of  
Destruction and Despaire, O let not England be negligent in the  
application of it. Humble Addresses of a penitent People to a  
Mercifull God have prevailed with Him. They prevailed for  
Nineveh when the sentence seemed to be gone out against her,  
and may also prevaile for England.

It is therefore thought most necessary by the Lords and  
Commons in Parliament, That all his Majesties Subjects  
in this Kingdome of England, be excited and stirred up, speedi-  
ly to lay hold upon this onely and unfailing remedy of Repen-  
tance; freely acknowledging, and heartily bewailing even with  
deepest humiliation, godly sorrow, and detestation, secretly in  
families, but especially publicly in Congregations, both their  
owne personall sins, and chiefly those sins that are and have  
bene the sins of this Nation: A confession of Nationall sins  
being most agreeable to the Nationall Judgements, under  
which the Land Groanes, and most likely to be effectuall for the  
removing of them.

Neither

Neither ought this confession to be slight or light, when there is so heavy a weight of sins, infinite in number, and hateful in nature, that lies upon this Nation. Such are the high Contempt of Gods holy Ordinances, and of Holinesse it selfe, Groesse and affected Ignorance, under the glorious light of the Gospell cleerly shining among us; Unfaithfullnesse under the precious meares of Grace, Ingratitude for Mercies, Incongruities under Judgements, multitudes of Curses, & Blasphemies, wicked Profanations of the Lords Day, by Sports and Games, formerly encouraged even by Authority; All sorts of uncleannesse, Luxury, and Excesse in Eating & Drinking, Vanity, Pride, and Prodigality in Apparel, Envy, Contention, and unnaturall Dislikes, Opposition, fraud, and Violence, from diverse of which sins, and many others, not one person throughout the whole Nation, can say that he is wholly free; but all must confesse that they have contributed towards the Great Store of National Sins; and so have increased the Treasure of wrath, against these dayes of wrath, and therefore, since according to the Language of the Holy Ghost, we are a sinfull Nation; a People laden with Iniquity, and that from the sole of the Foot, to the Head, there is foundnesse in us, we may justly expect the Devolutions that are denounced against so great and generall a corruption.

And as it is our duty to humble our selves, and to give glory to God the searcher of all Hearts, by confessing all sins; so ought we to be affected and humbled with deepest sense of sorrow, for those most crying Sins, which now we find, by too sad experience, to have a more immediate influence upon the Destruction of a Kingdom, some of which are Idolatry & Blasphemy.

That of Idolatry, as it was the sin of our Ancestors, so it is the spreading sin of these latter times, while by a generall countenance, and almost Toleration, it hath bene severall wayes fomented and encouraged: The grievous Effects whereof this Kingdome of England now begins to feele, from multitudes of Armed Papists and their Abettors, and the Kingdome of

Ireland

Ireland farre more heartily hath felt; being brought almost to utter Ruine, by the Intestine Warres of Romish Idolaters.

And for that other crying and cruell sin of Bloodshed, that calls aloud for vengeance (besides many Murders not expiated, and the blood guilty pardoned) did it not goe hand in hand with that abhominable Idol of the Masse, in the times of Queene Mary and some of her Predecessors, when many hundreds of the best Martyrs and Saints of Christ lost their precious Lives in flames and prisons? And though several Acts by which that Innocent blood was shed, have beene repealed by Parliament: yet to this very day, was never obtained such a solemn Publique and Nationall acknowledgement of this sin, as might appease the wrath of that Jealous God, against whom, and against whose people, with so high a hand it was committed.

Now that all the sin and misery of this polluted and afflicted Nation may be bitterly sorrowed for, with such griefe of heart, and preparednesse for a thorough Reformation, as God may be pleased graciously to accept: it is required and Ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That every Minister and Preacher of Gods Word, in the Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales, in their severall Auditories and Congregations, especially upon the fast dayes, shall most earnestly perswade and Inculcate the constant practice of this publike acknowledgement and deep humiliation, for these, & all our Nationall and crying sins, and likewise the necessity of a personall and Nationall Reformation, and shall publish this Ordinance concerning the same, that at length we may obtaine a firme and happy Peace both with God and Man, that glory may dwell in our Land, and the prosperity of the Gospel with all the priviledges accompanying it, may Crowne this Nation unto all succeeding Ages.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and published.

John Brown Cler. Parl.

An

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled for the better observation of the Monthly F.A.S.T.

**VV** Whereas the Kings most Excellent Majesty, upon the request of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and by and with their advice and consent, considering the lamentable and distressed condition of his good Subjects in the Kingdom of Ireland; (that there might be a generall humiliation of all the estates of this Kingdom before Almighty God in fasting and prayer) was graciously pleased to command the keeping of a Monthly Fast; and to the end that all persons might the better take notice thereof (and to leave such with out excuse, as should not duly keepe and observe the same) His Majesty by his Proclamation of the 8. of January 1641. appoint that the same should bee generally, publicly, and solemnly holden; and kept, as well by abstinence from food, as by publick prayers, preaching, and hearing of the word of God, and other Religious and holy duties, in all Cathedrals, Collegiate, and parish Churches, and Chappels within the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, (without any exception) on the last Wednesday of every Month, to continue during the troubles in the said Kingdom of Ireland: All which His Majesty did traitly charge and command, should be reverently and devoutly performed by all his Subjects, as they desire the blessing of Almighty God, and would avoid his heaveis indignation against this land and people; and upon paine of such punishments as may justly be inflicted upon all such as shall contemn or neglect so religious a worke and rulle.

And whereas the Lords and Commons in both Houses of Parliament, have received divers informations from severall parts of this Kingdom and Dominion of Wales, of the great neglect of the due observation and keeping of the said Fast upon the daies appointed, and of the profanations of the same by many irreverent, ill affected, loose, and scandalous persons, as well of the Clergie as others, who are so farre from afflicting their soules and loosing the bands of wickednesse, as that they provoke the wrath of Almighty God, and make so pious a meane to procure his blessings, the occasion of greater Judgements.

For the remediation whereof for the time to come, the Lords and Commons doe Order, Declare, Ordaine, that in all and every the Cathedrals, Collegiate and Parish Churches, and Chappels within the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, (without any exception) upon every



Whys day, next and immediately before any the daies appointed for the said publike Fast, the Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Minister, that upon that day shall officiate, or exercise in any of the said Cathedral, Collegiate, Parish Churches, or Chappels, shall give publike notice in every of the said Cathedral, Collegiate, Parish Churches or Chappels, respectively, of the Fast day next ensuing, immediately after Sermon, or prayer, made in the forenoons before the Congregation be dismissed, earnestly exhorting and perswading all the people to the solempne due keeping and religious obseruation of the whole day appointed for the said Fast, and that they should repaire to some Church or Chappell: there diligently and reverently to attend all such holy duties as shall be used in the obseruance of the same; that they forbear to use all manner of sports and pastimes whatsoever, and their ordinary Trades and Callings upon the said day, as well Carriers, Waggoners, Carters, Wainmen, Dyers, Butchers, Bakers, Shop-keepers, Labourers; or any others using any Art, Trade, Mystery, or manuell Occupation whatsoever, and that all Wintners, Taverners, Alehouse-keepers, and keepers of Mallowing-houses, doe forbear to keep open their houses, Bells, or Shops, or to sell or utter (except in cases of extreme necessity) any Wine, Beere, Ale, or Mallow, till the publike exercises and religious duties of that day in the respective Cathedral, Collegiate Parish Churches and Chappels be past and over.

And lastly, all and every the Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, Church-Wardens, and other Officers inhabiting or residing within the limits or precincts of any such Cathedral, Collegiate, Parish Church, or Chappell, are hereby required to take speciall notice as well of such Parson, Vicar, Curate, or other Minister that ought to officiate in any of the said Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parish Churches, or Chappels upon any such day appointed for the said Fast, that shall either refuse or neglect to do the same, or not do or cause the same to be done in that religious and solempn manner as it ought to be, or that shall refuse to give notice of the Fast day at the time and in manner as aforesaid, and forthwith to returne their names, and the names of all such (from time to time) as shall wilfully offend herein, in contempt of the Lawes, His Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament, unto some one or more of the Knights, Citizens, or Burghesses that serve for the County where such offence is or shalbe committed, that some speedy course may be taken for the severe punishing of such as shall offend herein, according to the Lawes.

Die Mercurii 64. Augusti 1633.

It is this day Ordered, that this Ordinance for the better observing of the Fast be forthwith printed and published. Hen. Elsynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.



BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for a generall Fast through-  
out this Realme of ENGLAND.

**H**IS Majestie taking into his Princely and  
pious Consideration, the lamentable and  
distressed estate of his good Subjects in  
his Majesties Kingdome of Ireland, and conceiving  
it to be a just and great occasion calling upon him,  
and his people of this his Kingdome of England,  
for a generall humiliation of all estates of this  
Kingdome before Almighty God, in Prayer and  
Fasting, for drawing downe his mercy and blessing  
upon that Kingdome: his Majestie doth therefore  
by this his Proclamation straitly charge and com-  
mand, That a generall, publike, and Solemne Fast  
be kept, and holden, as well by abstinence from  
Food, as by publike Prayers, Preaching, and Hea-  
ring of the Word of God, and other sacred Duties,  
in all Cathedrall, Collegiate, and Parish Churches  
and Chappels within this his Majesties King-  
dome of England and Dominion of Wales (his Ma-  
jesties Cities of London and Westminster onely ex-  
cepted, where it hath beene already observed) on  
the

the twentieth day of this present Moneth of January.

And his Majestie doth further by this his Proclamation grantly charge and command, That a generall, publike, and solemne Fast be kept, and holden, as well by abstinence from Food, as by publike prayers, preaching, and hearing of the Word of God, and other sacred Duties, in all Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parish Churches and Chappels within this Kingdome of England, and Dominion of Wales (without any exception) on the last Wednesday of the Moneth of February next following the date hereof, and from thenceforth to continue on the last Wednesday of every Moneth, during the troubles in the said Kingdome of Ireland. All which his Majestie doth expressly charge and command shall be reverently and devoutly performed by all his loving Subjects, as they render the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his just Indignation against this Land, and upon paine of such Punishments as his Majestie can justly inflict upon all such as shall contemne or neglect so Religious a Worke.

Given at the Court at White-Hall the eighth day of January, in the seventeenth yeere of his Majesties Reigns of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

*God save the King.*

FINIS.

The Scots come in.

Numb. 19.  
41.THE  
KINGDOMES

Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From Tuesday the 23. of January, to Tuesday the 30. of January. 1644.

**T**He Cavaliers at Oxford, have put forth, in his Majesties name, a Proclamation for the keeping a *Court of Wards at Oxford*; Requiring all persons there to give their attendance: And the better to countenance the businesse, his Majestie hath made (or rather re-admitted, the Lord *Cottingham* into the place of) Master of the Court of Wards: and also, hath made a new *Seale* of a different stamp from the Seale of that Court, remaining with the Lord *Say*. There are two things observable in that Proclamation.

1. That the Lord *Cottingham*, a person so notoriously knowne to be an Agent for *Rome*, should be, not onely admitted into that place againe, but made Lord high *Treasurer* of England, as if such markes of favour were reserved onely for Papists and their adherents: This puts me in minde of his Majesties Letter to the *Deputie*, where leave is asked of her Majestie, that the Lord *Treasurers* place may be reserved for the Lord *Cottingham*.

2. The second thing observable, is: That in that Proclamation, his Majestie calls the Lord *Say*, the late Lord Viscount *Say* and *Seale*, as if it were a forfeiture of his Honour to stand for God and his Countrey: It seemes they have Outlawed the Lord *Say* of high Treason, and so by that rule abridge him of his Title, ere long their *Lordships at Oxford* will be glad to be received into mercie, and be contented with the Title of *Warships*.

There

There were Writs sent also to adjourne the Terms, but the example shewed upon *Kneviton*, that was hanged, so terrified the party that brought the Writs, that he sent them by a Porter, sealed up; who afterwards mistrusting what they were, delivered them to some Parliament men, and so they came not to the Judges hands; and thereby their expectations at *Oxford* are frustrated: Is they please to come this Terme time, to see the high Court of Chancery kept by Commissioners of the great Seale, and the assistance of their proceedings, they will never stay longer with *Enghien Porters* great Seale at *Oxford*.

There was lately intercepted, coming from *Oxford*, a Letter, directed to a Peere in the Lords House, who hath taken the Covenant, and means not to yeild obedience to an *Oxford* papers command, in these words:

C. Rex. Right trusty, and Right well beloved Counsa, We greet you Well: By Our Proclamation, which herewith we send you, you see Our resolution, and the grounds of that Our resolution, to advise With the Members of both Our Houses of Parliament, for the restoring of this Kingdome to its former peace and happiness: At least, we doubt not it will appeare to all the world, and so posterity, that there hath not been such a concurrence in the bringing these miseries upon us, or in contemplating that, by the invitation of this foreign invasion, as is imagined: We shall therefore desire you, that you will by no means fault of giving your attendance at the time and place accordingly, which in respect of the high concernment of Our service, and the good of the whole Kingdome, we shall not doubt of: And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, this 28. day of December. 1643.

Divers other Letters of the like nature were intercepted, and one (amongst others) directed to the Lord *Adams*, that was never any Member of either house: But so he be a Lord, he will serve for a Parliament-man at *Oxford*:

Their meeting at *Oxford*, held on the day appointed; but the appearance was so inconsiderable, that they were forced to adjourne for a time, till they see whether their number would increase: *Seizure Ever*, that learned Gentleman in the known Laws, is the Speaker of that Court: all for sometimes they waive the calling of it a Parliament. The King in his Speech was bitter against the Scots, he had reason, for the Scots are irreconcilable to the Irish Rebels.

Sir *John Culpeper* propounded, That they might presently fall upon Propositions to be sent to the Parliament at *Westminster*, and that his Majesty may pass an Act against Papists, and deliver up such Delinquents, as were pro-

proclaimed Traitors by his Majesty, at the desire of both houses, before his war began, and are yet, notwithstanding, Commanders in his Majesty's Army. But the Lord Digby, Master Jermine, Master Peirce, Secretary Windebank, &c. were not well pleased with the motion, and her Majesty much offended at it.

It is certified further, that her Majesty is to go to Bristol, where his Majesty's Royal Navy (such as it is) are to wait her Majesty over into Ireland, where she is to appear before the head of the Irish Rebels Army, who at the beginning of the Rebellion called themselves the Queens Army; for which, at this day, her Majesty never reproved them.

The Prince is to go into Wales to raise an Army there against the Spring.

The falling out between Sir Ralph Hopton and Colonel Wilmet is almost concealed. I finde a generall report, especially amongst the malignants, that Sir Henry Vane the younger is under a cloud, and thus he is impeached: To take off this scandal, on a person deserving so much of both Kingdoms, I have informed my selfe of the true state of the matter in question, which I thus to be done.

That the same day Sir Henry Vane the younger made a report from the Committee, of his Majesties defense, to settle the Protestant Religion, by the mediation of Head an Irish Rebel, Sir Basil Bonke a Puritan, and Master Violet a Protector, a stream of the Lord Leycesters came to him, and delivered him a Letter from the Lord Lovelace, wherein Sir Henry Vane so find a person of great importance to make known unto him: Sir Henry Vane concerning this to be a branch of the defense of Sir Basil Bonke, moved the house of Commons upon generall grounds, (mentioning no particular) to examine this first business in the business; and that night met with the Committee, and with the assistance of them, Master Spenser sent one master Stefan Wall, a divine to the Lord Lovelace, who proposed nothing but generall words, and his words did highly exonerate of young Sir Henry Vane, and that his power was great in Parliament, and was willing to make Laws for tender consciences.

The business (upon the returne of master Wall) was communicated to the house of Commons; but at that time, some examinations were taken concerning this business, wherein Sir Henry Vane was more particularly concerned, which occasioned the said questions to report, that he was under suspicion: whereas, the Lord Lovelace again being taken in his returne, was examined by the Advocate of the Army, according to the duty of his place: who, in his examination, was necessitated to speak of Sir Henry Vane, he being privy to his returne: which Examinations, being communicated to the house of Commons, began a Committee to consider of all kinds for a tenderness, but both houses, in giving thanks to Sir Henry Vane, master Spenser, and the oath of the Committee, for their prudent and close carriage of this business: being discovered upon them in such a circumstance of time, as might easily occasion a suspicion, it was a branch of Sir Basil Bonkes designe.

But some (though no Members of either House) (having deferted the Parliament) endeavoured to put on this business against Sir Henry Vane, as guilty of holding Intelligence with the Enemy, without the privy of both Speakers, to the end to divide one House from the other, about Sir



*Henry Vane*, which pretended Ordinance being inquired into, it appeared, it had past the House of Commons, but that the *Lord* did refuse to joyne in it; so his Adversaries were silenced, and Sir *Henry Vane* much honoured by an approbation of the House, of his wisdom and integrity.

I may in the next place tell you of a third Designe, though in its order, the first of the three, which consists of many branches, being a Plot of Captain *Ogle*. 1. To raise a party in *London* for his Majestie, consisting, as he termes them, of loyall Subjects, Newalls, Independants, Brownists, and Annabaptists. 2. To betray *Aylesbury* into the Cavaliers hands. 3. To put on Propositions concerning tender consciences, and to oppose the Sect. Presbytery. The parties that held correspondencie with Captain *Ogle*, were honest *C. R.* that never yet failed in a Plot, the *Lord Brissell*, and the *Lord Digby*.

The parties, that *Ogle* conceived, he made sure to himselfe in the Plot (who treated with him, no further then my *Lord* Generall was privy unto it) were Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Nye*, Lieutenant Colonell *Moseley*, and Mr. *Devenish*, Keeper of *Winchester* House. After some debate, *Ogle* could not accomplish his end, unless he might have his liberty (he being a prisoner at *Winchester* House) to goe to *Oxford*: Master *Devenish* did wisely connive at his escape, Lieutenant Colonell *Moseley* nobly entertained him at *Aylesbury*, and concluded on conditions to deliver up the Towne; *Ogle* went to *Oxford*, kissed his Majesties hand, told him how farre he had proceeded, which together with his personall presence, gained such a benefit in his Majestie, and the Earle of *Brissell*, that they accounted Captain Colonell *Moseley*, and Mr. *Devenish* firme to their side. Hereupon his Majestie writes a Letter, and the Earle of *Brissell* another to Lieutenant Colonell *Moseley*, and also to Mr. *Devenish*. and thanks them for their affection to his Majesties Service; Mr. *Devenish* writes a Letter of complimance to the Earle of *Brissell*, and also sends him a Figure to write to Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Nye* advises his Lordship that *Ogle* may not be privy to what he writes, for he loves to be free with solid and reserved men; of either of which *Ogle* was never guiltie. My Lord *Brissell* accepted of the Figure, answered in the kinde, approved of Mr. *Devenish* advise, sent him a Letter of Indemnitie under his Majesties hand and seale, for permitting *Ogle* to escape, intimating unto him that his Majestie had made *Ogle* a Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, but a badge of greater honour was intended for him: Mr. *Devenish* finding his addressees so acceptable, writ againe in Figures to the Earle of *Brissell*, and propounded unto him a Designe he had to betray *Winchester* Castle at the same

some time into his Majesties hands, by taking advantage of a feare that would possesse them, upon the surrender of *Aylesbury*: His Majestie, and the Earle of *Bristol* well approved of the Designe, and both of them in severall Letters, signed with their owne hands, highly extol'd his wisdom, promised great rewards, as by the Letters appears.

The Plot goes on Sunday, Jan. 21. at 12 at night, *Aylesbury* was to be delivered up, to that end his Majestie quits *Toucester*, and draws all the force he can also from *Oxford*, and elsewhere to enter *Aylesbury*: Lieutenant Col: *Moseley* sends his Majestie word, that there was come in three full Companies of some fresh supplie, which hee suspected was sent upon some jealousies, therefore advised his Majestie to forbear to send till a better opportunity; but his Majestie was resolved on the time appointed, for that the whole had blowne of late much against them, and the great meeting of the Parliament was at *Oxford* the next day, and some action must suddenly ensue, to uphold his reputation at so great a meeting, and therefore sent him by his owne man some Engines to fire the Magazine, in case he was discovered, that then the Towne might be easily taken by storming it; but when they came within two miles of *Aylesbury*, the En. my perceived they were betrayed, so retreated in disorder, and lost near 400. men and horses in the snow, and lost *Toucester* besides, and had Lieutenant Col: *Moseley* prevailed to hold off the day of appointment but two dayes longer, as he endeavoured it, my Lord General's forces had marched between *Oxford* and the enemy and cut them off: but unfortunatly the stormes and wayes were such, that they could not march but with much prejudice, though they endeavoured it.

I forgot at the beginning to tell you that his Majestie sent one hundred pound to Capt. *Ogle* before he was released, by Bill of exchange, to Mr. *Samuel* *Crispe*, that unfortunate Merchant (his affection to the Parliament considered) who paid the same upon sight.

This *Ogle* was a person to loose, and unworthy, that they must needs be very slow in conviction at *Oxford* for simple in judgement, to entourage any Exposition from so contemptible a person. To save his Majesties Honour in the businesse, this new made Gentleman of the *Privy Chamber* will no doubt be cashiered, or have the strappado.

Concerning the action and businesse of *Norringham*: I shall referre you to a true Copy of the Letters written by the valiant Commander and Governor of that Castle and Garrison unto a good patriot of those parts, residing in *London*.

About six of the clocke in the morning the enemy faced us on both sides the Towne, and our horse, with two foot Companies went to the workes, but they being a very great body, and the workes not yet defensible in many places (they do give them their due) very bravely came on, and forced their entry into the Towne, and our horse and foot were both forced to retreat to the Castle, but we had not one man slain or wounded in the retreats: Our Ordnance from the Castle made a lane among them at their entry, and our Musketer's killd many of them as they retreated into the Castle: The enemy possesed themselves of *St. Peters Church* and those house and street ends, which hindred us from going out, but without our horse

horse saw they were able to do us service (their body of horse being for greater)  
 Colonel Thornhagh and all the other horse Commanders, encouraged their  
 Troopers to take Advantage in their hands and serve as foot (Which to their great  
 glory they very cheerfully, and courageously did) and with a fine company joined to  
 part of them, sallied out and beat the Cavaliers out of the worst houses to the  
 Castle and possessed them: When we saw our safety and retreat, both made indis-  
 creet safe, we drew out two other foot Companies and all the rest of the Troopers  
 with Muskets, who went on with great courage and valour, till they drove the  
 enemy before them out of the Town, with a great deal of dishonour and confusion.  
 We have now eighty prisoners and all their weapons and a great many killed the cer-  
 tain number I cannot relate. Sixty of them were wounded and carried  
 dead off from the field, some they had killed in the field before they had entered the  
 Town, we traced them two miles in the Snow by much blood which we found spill;  
 and we hear that they left dead and wounded men in the Town as they passed, I do  
 not perceive we have any prisoners above the quality of a Captain, Lieutenant but  
 the reason is because the Commanders run away in such haste that they left their own  
 and got Troopers horses, and took no care of their men but left them without com-  
 mand, being happy who could first scape away: We lost now all this day but our men  
 slain; and two or three wounded: At last the enemy rallied in a valley about a  
 mile from the Town (where they had a body of horse which were come into Town)  
 we faced one another, but we finding their body so much exceeding all our force,  
 would not hazard the whole Garrison upon such unequal terms, so we retired to  
 the enemy marched away to their several Garrisons. Col. Cartwright had his horse  
 killed under him with a Cannon bullet they say but I am not certain what he him-  
 self is that. That you may know their devilishness, give me leave to enquire you  
 what their designe as it is related to us: They were resolved to have surprised us  
 this morning by two of the clocke but the bitterness of the Snow weather which  
 fell hindered so speedily a march of their foot as they expected: therefore failing of that  
 their sixth designe was, so try if they could get the Town, which if they could  
 they then resolved to summon the Castle, and if they could neither winne  
 nor have it delivered up; they resolved to plunder and then fire the Town,  
 to this purpose and with these threats they had prepared a Letter to send  
 me, and when they could find none that would venture to carry it, they sent  
 an Ad. Maior, and would with many threats have compelled him to carry it to  
 me: one change of it was, that if I would not send them the Ad. Maior and Aldermen  
 nor deliver the Castle they would proceed to plunder and fire: Before Mr. Maior  
 was well out of doors with his Letter there was so quick and unexpected an answer  
 sent to me by 400. Musketeers, which sallied out upon them, that they were in too

great hurt to take with them the plunder of the Town, so that in their respect the  
 Town escaped well and lost nothing of value: We must acknowledge it was a won-  
 derfull mercy of God that is escaped so by, for they cast a many coals of fire amongst  
 a great deals of hay, in Captain Whiter's Quarters, and laid fire to divers houses  
 and had prepared divers Gorse Bushes to fire, and shot muskets and pistols into the  
 thatch of houses as they passed by, and into barnes, but God preserved us from all  
 these dangers, so that though the fire was found halfe an hour after they were gone  
 quicke in the hay, yet there was not so much as a smoake in the Town: The number  
 of these forces were (as neere as we could guesse) or finde out by the prisoners)  
 1300. horse and foot, being all the force that could be gathered together from Ne-  
 wmarket, Sir Charles Lucas, Calvert Pierwell, with other forces drawn from Bul-  
 forer, and Welbeck, and Shelford: They faced the Bridge on the other side of the  
 Trent with between two and three hundred horse and Dragoons which came from  
 Hastings, Belvoir, and Wiverton, by this you may see how we are straitened and  
 how overpowered our enemies are, and you may imagine how twofold it is for this  
 poor Garrison to subsist without some relief of money to encourage our Souldiers,  
 and the truth is to make them able to live to do the publique service: Therefore Sir  
 I beseech you prosecute my desires in my last Letter to you as the greatest service  
 you can do your Country and Obligation you can lay on.

Nottingham Castle,  
 Jan. 16. 1643.

Your loving friend  
 and servant J. H.

In all this dayes service we had a many assistance from the Townsmen, besides those  
 which have all this year been in the Castle with us, though I have twice summoned them  
 to receive armes for the defence of the towne, but could not perswade them to do so, but  
 now I am to hope by what they will by this be brought to consent more cheerfully with  
 me for their own defence, and that the Cavaliers (though they have no cause to brag of this)  
 will much deely buy their next assistance. I hear how the work of the entrenchment of Starston  
 way, which was about five or six hundred, all their last being the 11. Armes away that they  
 might not be lighted.

Since I writ this Letter I am continually informed that there are about a 1000. Caval-  
 liers being dead in Thorough and Starston woods and Nottingham Coppies the weather  
 being so sharpe that their wounds bled to death and some of them starved with cold, and  
 we have since found many of them dead in the woods that were wounded and hid them-  
 selves in the woods, and when they were dead they have been many wounded all along the townes  
 as they dispeised themselves to their severall Garrisons from whence they came. The great-  
 nesse



ness of their loss is more then yet we can be assured and what I have feared to you is less then what we know to be true: we have sent in four or five to the Parliament in service in Ireland and are now taken with the enemy: I desire to know what the pleasure of the House is concerning them; whether they shall be tried by a Councell of Warre or Runawayes or exchanged, because it may be our fortune to meet with more considerable men of the same kinde.

Nottingham Castle,

Jan. 17. 1643.

Your servant, I. H.

Monday, Jan. 29 an expresse is come to the Parliament from the Scots Army, who Lieut. Generall Leslie within seven miles of Alnewicke, on Wednesday, 21. of this month, who on the next day was to march by two in the morning towards Alnewicke, where Sir Thomas Glemont, Generall of the foure Associated Counties was, with a Garrison in the castle who (being summoned to yeeld the place) returned answer, that he would advise with the Gentry of those parts, and send an answer by a Trumpeter of his own: the Gentry being met, he propounded three things to them: 1. Whether to dispute the passage, to which it was unanimously Voted, they were not strength sufficient. 2. Whether to burne all hie, corne, and straw; the Yorkeshire malignants of the Committee Voted yes, but the Northumbrians protested against it. 3. Whether to retreat and leave all, and secure Newcastle, to this they most inclined; so that by this time (admitting the Army much a little above Alnewicke, and not stay to dispute the passage, they are by this time at or neere Newcastle, Alnewicke being but 24. miles beyond Newcastle.

There is a Declaration come forth in Print, which the Kingdome of Scotland put forth, declaring the causes of their coming in.

But there is another Declaration which hath past the convention of Estates in Scotland, and was unanimously confirmed the 29. of this instant January by the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Lords at a Conference, who will not retard the passing of it a day.

It in effect, declares who in both Kingdoms shall be received into mercy, and who not.

1. All Papists in Armes to be proceeded against for their lives is traitors, and their Estates confiscate, the like for all Irish Rebels his Maiestie doth entertaine.

2. None of the grand Incendiaries and fomenters of this warre, to have any mercy shewed the, either for life or estate.

3. That all such as have, or shall refuse the Covenant, to have all their estate forthwith sequestred.

4. That such Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and others, that have been mist to take up Armes against the Parliament, and shall returne to the Parliament by the first of March, or to any part of their Armies, shall be protected as to his life and liberty, but as to his estate a competentie shall be allowed him and his family, but a proportion must go out of it, to satisfy the losses of others that have suffered, and deserve charges of the Kingdoms.

The Declaration it selfe is suddenly to come in print, that all malignants may take notice of it, throughou the Kingdom to repent, and returne by the first of march.

Printed according to Order, for G.B. and R.W.



# The Spie,

## Communicating Intelligence from Oxford.



From Tuesday, the 23. of January, to the 30. of the same.

**R** Oome for a Gamester, in this weekly crowd of *Mercuries*, and Intelligencers, who intends to shew you fair play (*viz.* nothing but truth) by discovering the usuall cheats in the great game of the Kingdome, now in agitation. But, perhaps, Reader, thou art tired with that weekly rabble of Pamphlets which range about the Streets, to make a prey of every mans expectation, and gull them to the expence of a penny; and therefore thou wilt condemne this ere it be looked on, supposing it some novell foppery, which aspires with the like ambition, to indamage thee at the same rate; yet howsoever, venture for once upon it, and at least salute our Spie at his first return, that he be not discouraged from taking further pains for thy future satisfaction.

He comes to thee abroad under the name of a Spie, rather then *Mercurius*; for this *Mercurius* is proved such a juggler, that I am loth to trust him, and almost hackneyed off his legs, that he is as unfit for future service as State. Take him then such as he is, I do not beg thee to buy him, because I believe every one will be greedy enough to entertain a Spie for the newes he brings.

Our Spie promisseth weekly Intelligence concerning these ad-  
party

party, and you shall have his discourse proportioned according to the severall occurrents which follow their preposterous designs, and with these you shall have now and then mingled the concerns of our owne armies abroad. Hee hath of late spent the greater part of his time at *Oxford*, and there he sayes they are all amorph, Melancholy being the only predominant humor, not only in their bodies naturall, but politick also. He hath seized the carrall body of the Court, the corrupt body of the University, and the crazie, lame, and weake body of the Army, in all parts and members especially the more noble: As for the rest, they are insensible, their senses being wholly benumbed with Atheisme, mis-information and ignorance, and so utterly incapable of any other misery then lowly quarter, want of plunder and small beer, a mortification to them beyond Popish penance, or an Ashwednesday whip. The epidemically malignant Feaver, that rained there the last Summer, was not halfe so contagious, and it is most probable, that one mouthfull of that malignant Aire is enough to poyson a thousand with despaire. There is no Antidote against it, but a stony, irrelenting heart, such a one as the great State-sinners there are provided with, who, because they dare breath no where else, such it is with the greatest content, like insatiable Camelions; and there thrive most, where the most pine.

There are *Brisfoll*, his sonne *Digby*, and *Cottingham* the Spaniard, Jesuited *Iermine*, that crimp Imp of up-start honour, that Musketome of a nights growth, exhaled by the favourable reflection of *Cynthia's* beams, who rules all by night: There are convents of Fryers, the Colledges I mean, a society of Jesuits, a Cathedral full of Prelates and Prelatick spirits, and all these combined (so they may bring their ends about) to the totall extirpation of the fundamentalls of our Religion, and policie, by an absolute transformation of Church and State.

To this end and purpose, they have procured a new What d'yeecall it, a strange kinde of Parliament at *Oxford*, notwithstanding an indissoluble Act, whereby this present Parliament at *Westminster* is already confirmed; and so set up a mock-Parliament, a Decoy Duck to draw in male-contents, to countermine true Parliamentary proceedings. But the event hath not been answerable to their great expectation and preparation for the 22. of January:

For

For this grand Counsell was prorogued as soon as begun, whether it were because but a small number appeared, or for what reason else is doubtfull; yet certain it is, there met but a thin company: of Commons about fifteen; and of those Lords that were there formerly, ten have absented themselves, and were missed but two dayes before the first sitting. It is a question when they will sit again, seeing they durst be so bold, as to thwart the over-ruling faction, by striking at Papists and Popery. There were bills of impeachment in hatching against *Digby*, *Iermyn* and others, but they were so provident in prevention, as to crush the Serpent that would have bitten them, in the egge, by a present adjourment. There is much triumph in *Oxford* concerning the late association of *Devon* and *Cornwall*. I have seen the form of their Profection, whereby they say, they have engaged themselves; but it is so full of slander, lies, and false aspersions upon the Parliament, and so exactly framed according to the malignant sense of *Oxford*, and so much cryed up there, that I suspect it rather some invention of their own to gull the world, then any business of truth. The speciall aime of their designe is rumoured to be the assisting his Majestie for the reducing the towne of *Plimouth*, and counterpoising the coming in of the Scots; but we are ceruised that *Plimouth* is in very good case, and are providing to withstand them, whose power is not so great but that they may easily, nor of such consequence as that their rebellious league shall be sufficient to ballance the Religious designe of the Scots, who now are very neere, if not at *Newcastle*; and have already notwithstanding their *Cornish* hopes, raised an earthquake in *Oxford*, a tempest of feare and confusion in their hard hearts, which are not usually moved with small matters. The Courtiers and Clergie have formerly had experience of their valour and resolution, about three yeeres agoe, in their *Bellum Episcopale*, which then thrived so ill, that their present coming in cannot but be a sad omen to their preposterous proceedings now in hand. And as I conceive, there is nothing can hinder their coming forwards, unlesse it be our presuming too far upon their arme of flesh. For the Stage playing *Marquesse*, with his patched Regiments of Popery, gives them at *Oxford* but little hope or comfort; and yet like a dying cock of the game, he means to offer once at his enemie, though it be likely to prove his ruin. And therefore he drawes up all the Forces he can that way,

which consist of a lamentable wretched company of 6000. horse and foot, of forlorne quality and condition: but the Scots are provided to give them entertainment; wherewith hereafter you may be better acquainted. In the meane time let us sollicite the Almighty providence for successe.

At the next sitting of the grand Councell, which will be perhaps when the Members are brought to a little more moderation, The Prelates have determined to petition that they may be re-invested in their wonted Parliamentary rights and priviledges there; and then no question but they will vote Episcopacie, and Baronic, to be inseperable adjuncts, *Iure Divino*. The Civilians intend to put up a Petition to the same effect, and by all meanes to hold up Deanaries, wherein they are seconded by the ambitious Clergie, that would devour the fat of the land upon asidle termes, as their Predecessours. Of these things there was a rumour abroad before the returne of our Spie, but the next time he hopes to give you more ample Satisfaction.

Prince Harcourt, having spent time in Oxford to no purpose, and by experience found the name of Peace hatefull to the Spanish Agents, and utterly inconsistent with the designs on foot there, they having most injuriously, and senselessly presented the Honourable Houses of Parliament unto him under the Notion of Rebels, & therforein point of honor, a Treaty with them, not to be admitted of, returned back the last weeke to London, and within this fortnight is bound for France. Let all States, and Kingdomes in the world judge what manner of men these are, and who they are that intend blood and slaughter, when they have brought His Majestie into such a condition, that he is in a manner incapable of reconciliation to, and with his people.

The Bishop of Armagh is much envied and emulated at Court, by reason of some passages in a late Sermon of his before His Majestie, concerning the Irish Cessation, and bringing over the Irish Rebels, where there is no question but many Auditors were present, whose gauled consciences could not endure such hard rubbing. Whereupon His Majesty begins to disrellish, not onely that counsell, but many other exorbitant courses wherein they had involved his well-meaning spirit; which makes them starke mad against the Bishop, whose good counsell, if they cannot stop, nor by some trick or other, divert

divert from the Kings eare, no question but they can meditate mischiefs enough at a pinch of need: There are Iesuited Engineers, warrant you, that want no stratagems upon occasion to bring an old man to his grave.

The Spanish Faction are very sollicitous concerning a reconciliation betweene Prince *Rupert*, and *Henry* of Yarmouth, that bubble of yesterday, who hath so much impudence as to stand in competition with a Prince, the Kings Nephew, and a hopefull Prince, that may in time be our Proselite: Certainly that blood was of a little lower condition, than to rise so high upon the sudden, into contention. Me thinkes that *Harry Iermyn* should be can'd by Prince *Rupert*, was but fitting punishment for his spirit of contradiction; but that he should returne a box for the cane, loses credit in the very relation. It seemes the occasion of this bickering, was *Iermyns* impatience at the ripping up of some busineses, which I am loth to name, yet wherewith the Prince tooke occasion to charge him home at the full. Much a do there is about this and other busineses now there in hand: Howsoever Prince *Rupert* setting before his eyes the untimely death of his brother, in this unnaturall quarrell, for which he hath been a great stickler, and finding them to run a course contrary to their former pretences of maintaining the true Protestant Religion, under which he was borne and bred; was, I am sure, lately resolved to lay down his Commission, and depart the Kingdome; and I suppose he continues in the same minde still, notwithstanding the report of the new Title of *Sussex*, and the earnest plots daily in agitation to keepe him still there.

It seemes the Articles against Duke *Hamilton*, were not sharpened enough in the Iesuists Anvile, to cut off his head as yet, and therefore they have given him a remove to *Pendennis* Castle, there to remaine close Prisoner, till they may have the advantage of a fitter time to do it in, than when his Countymen are so neere hand to revenge it.

Our Spie at his returne, met here with a new *Mercurius* without a Name, who pretends to tell nothing, but truth impartially concerning either side; But I must tell him he hath been a little too sawcie in some particulars, and false in others. For first he hath most impudently reported Gloucester to be in extreame distresse, but the same Providence that formerly blessed the vigilant Governour thereof



with deliverance, hath disposed the condition of that place to be otherwise than Malignants report.

He Relates out of Darbshire, that the Marquesse of Newcastle, about three weekes since, late upon the Commission of Array, at Chesterfield in that Countie; where he broaches an uncertain report of his raising 2000. Voluntiers: But that place, though the Marquesse have a house not far distant, and the Countie it selfe reports, that when ever he came thither to recrate his broken Forces, it was rather done by constraint than any willingnesse of people, to follow his Rebellious courses. It is very likely then he should now raise two thousand Voluntiers, Is it not?

He tells us of forty of the Garrison of Nottingham Castle taken by the Newwarke Forces, who entred the Town of Nottingham. I cannot say whether they tooke any of the Garrison, or no: but sure I am that after they had, plundered the town sufficiently, they in the Castle issued out, and recovered all the plunder, killed about forty of the plunderers, tooke 80. prisoners, whereof some persons of note, and many Horse; and besides this we have intelligence, that the Governour of Nottingham Castle, hath since that set upon a party of the Irish lately come over.

I hope he will be rewarded for meddling with Collonell Cromwells speech, and the observation wherewith he concludes his story of Brampton Castle.

A letter from the North tells us of a great Fleet landed at Burlington in Yorkshire, being well provided with mancey and Ammunition, and have since their landing began to fortifie; But whether Irish, or what Generation of Vipers else they are, is unknowne.

There was a Malignant report, that the White, or the Yellow Regiment of London one of them, should be cut off at Guilford or Godliman in Surry, by Hapsons Forces, such tongues as these should be seared with a hot Iron.

And now we speak of Hapson, Sir William Waller will shortly pack him and his confederates, with their broken Forces, into the West againe. To which end and purpose he is come to towne againe, and an Ordinance drawn up to give him power to raise Monies, and a further supply of Men and Armes, as there shall be occasion in the Westerne Counties. Where it is not to be doubted, though Antient

jeere him with the Title of Lord of the West; he will not more take as good footing there, as any Lord in the West, and in time put a period to their Western brags and hopes.

*Aulicus* is fallen desperately sick of his malignancie, that he dares not stir abroad: he hath been lately speechlesse, and it is thought, if he recover, he will hardly ever be such a joviall her again. The Star-gazers and Physicians there, affirm the cause of his disease to be, because the Court-Jupiters do not cast such promising Aspects of favour upon their *Adversaries* as formerly, by reason of the late unkind opposition of wars, radiating the fatal beams of valour and gun-powder, to the utter ruine of their Apostolike roots, that fall away both from their Religion and Colours. I hope hereafter hee will make use of time, to repent of his former errors, and abominable falsehoods, but especially of those grosse ones in his last Pamphlet that came to our hands.

Wherein he tells us of some deserting the Parliaments army, because they conceive them to grow poor, and that *London* is capable of being exhausted, and this by reason of the Exchequer: And therefore men of tender consciences begin to doubt the equity of the cause. *Aulicus*, if you had any conscience at all, you had long ere this been deserted, together with your cause, and left, as Delinquents ought to be, to the just trial and censure of the Parliament; and as for the Exchequer, I suppose it will hold out to bring you to that pass yet, notwithstanding all Popish plots and supplies against us.

He tells us of Master *Beagle* of Barnstable, a friend of Master *Peards*, Burgess for that Corporation, who having formerly made Master *Peard* one of his Executors, expunged his name, and put him quite out of his Will, for that he formerly had induced him to side with the Parliament, for which the said Master *Beagle* did often torment and curse himselfe in his sickness. *Aulicus*, this is a serious tale, for, it smells too much of Oxford. This lie cost thee at least halfe a Bush-candle in invention: But if it were so, that one man should prove an Apostate from the Parliament, yet it was never heard that many of ours should be so, or be brought to take your Oxford Protestation, as  
yours

yours by the hundreds lately in Surrey rooks ours, to live and die with Sir *William Waller* in the Parliament Service.

He tels us of the execution of one *Francis Cole* at Oxford for a Spie: I will not speake against it: because perhaps you did it to send a message to *Kniveton*, alias *Kneveton*, and other your good friends that went before him the same way: But I feare they are gone such a desperate voyage, that he will hardly meet with them.

He tels us of certaine young maides in the City of Norwich, who formerly covenanted to raise a Troope of horse for the Parliaments Service.

Better do so with their money then maintaine a Troope of Stallions, as some of your insatiable Madams doe to exercise their restife corps.

He still harpes upon the old string, and prates of difference betweene his Excellency and Sir *William Waller*, whose Commission he sayes, is not so full as is usually granted to others. *Anticus*, I beleeeve it will be full enough to charge *Hopton*, and large enough to reach to the Devon and Cornish Association, and spoyle their Articles. And perhaps in time reach backe againe to Oxford, where your malignancy may be regulated after the example of Cambridge by the Earle of Manchester.

Speake no more of the *Byrons* conquests, for Sir *Nicholas* the *quendam* Governour of Chester is now our prisoner.

Printed according to Order, for I. F.



# MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and  
affaires of the Court, to the  
rest of the KINGDOME.

*The third weeke, ending Jan. 20. 1643.*

SUNDAY. Jan. 14.

**T**He Rebels having reformed all *Clergy-men & Churches* (by persecuting the one, and desacing the other) are at last come to Reformation of the *Lyturgie*. For this day we were for certain advertised, that whereas the *Lords House* were accustomed to have *Morning Prayer*, every day before they went to sit, the *Members* have taken notice of it for a very Popish custome, and instead thereof have appointed a *New-Assembly-man* to attend there every morning, to give them an *Extempore* Prayer of the mans own making; for those set forms of Prayer were compiled by *Bishops*, who being put out of the *House*, 'tis conceived unfitting the Book of *Common-Prayer* should stay behind. And this piece of Reformation we owe to *William* late Viscount *Say*, who in his printed Speech touching *Liturgie and Separation*, tells all the world, that he cannot away with those set forms of *Prayer* which are now in the Church of *England*. And the truth is, many in this Kingdome (who were strangers to him) had never knowne he had beene a *Brownist*, if he himselfe had not said so in Print.

Now if you would know how they doe *Extempore*, be pleased to take notice, that immediately after the Rebels late overthrow at *Middlewich* in *Cheshire*, one *Wood* a *Levite* of theirs was in the Pulpit at *Newton* in *Lancashire*, where he taught his Auditory, *That very suddenly they should give the Cavaliers as great a blow as the Cavaliers had given them*; for (said he) *God will be ungratefull unto us, if he suffer us that are his chosen and elected to fall into the hands of the wicked, for if God should suffer us so to doe, we have even served him too long*; with a deale more of such excellent blasphemy, as will be witnessed upon oath by divers of the parishioners.

Being such perfect blasphemers against God Almighty, 'tis very naturall to slander His *Anointed*; in persuance whereof they have stretched their inventions in severall forgeries against the *QUEENES* Majesty: and therefore (as this day we were certified) their remnant of *Lords* sent downe to their pretended *Commons* on Monday last, to hasten their Charge, and make good their *Impeachment* against the *QUEEN*, that is, forasmuch as they have slandered all the *Lords* as *Evill Counsellours* and *Malignants*, and thereby have gotten courage to doe the like against Her Majesty; therefore the *Upper Members* sent downe to the *Lower*, to fill up their slanders, and make their forgeries compleat against the *QUEEN*, lest by delaying their malice the people come to knowledge of the truth; for as they have declared themselves for *Root and Branch* in the *Church*, they are resolved on the like in the *Royall Progeny*.

MONDAY. Jan. 15.

Having gone thus farre with His Sacred Majesty, 'twill be nothing strange if they do their pleasure with His Subjects; And therefore (as it was this day certified) the *Members* of the lower Orbe have voted *Master Dutton Knight* for *Gloucestershire*) from being any longer a *Member* of the *House*, because of his activity for His Majesty against the *Citty* of *Gloucester*. But it is worth their thoughts, whether it be not possible Master



fter *Dutton* may doe as much for them, upon farre better grounds; for indeed their Vote is come somewhat too late, as all that are at *Oxford* are able to informe them.

Yet the *Members* goe on, as perfect Tyrants as ever, especially *Iohn Venn* that barbarous keeper of *Windſor* Castle, who (as we are this day too certainly informed) doth most cruelly insult over divers Gentlemen imprisoned in the Castle, so as they have not any supply of Common necessities, nor will this good keeper suffer their friends to send them any, which is one of those reasons why His Majesties Souldiers have severall times refused quarter from the Rebels, because they are sure a present death will be farre easier then a cruell captivity in the hands of these Rebels.

But this is not all, for there is this weeke come forth a Pamphlet which tels us in print, that, *Forasmuch as the Cavaliers have a designe upon divers Parliament Souldiers (for so the Rebels will call themselves) which are now Prisoners in the Iſle of Syllly, to be slaves to Argiers, therefore it will be a good way to doe the like by the Cavaliers, because the keeping them Prisoners doth put the State to too great a charge, in giving them necessary maintenance.* Now as we renounce this pretended designe upon Prisoners in *Syllly*, as a malicious forgery, sent abroad on purpose, to make way for their own cruelties on His Majesties good Subjects; so we conjure them as ever they hope for pardon from God and His Majestie, that they forbear to have a thought of selling any Christian *Englishman* to any forraigne Slavery, the Scale will turne, and they may now thinke of it.

## TUESDAY. Jan. 16.

His Majesty having by two former Proclamations (the one of the 27. of December 1642. and the other the 8. of February last) commanded all the Officers in His Court of *Wards* to attend His Majesty at *Oxford*; and whereas *William* late Viscount *Say* and *Seale* (who is now outlawed and attainted of High Treason) did not onely refuse to come and attend His Majesty, but also detained and kept backe the Seale of the said

Court contrary to the duty of his place ; Therefore His Majesty hath sent forth a Proclamation, ( which this day came in print ) whereby he declares that he hath caused a *New Seale* to be made, and engraven in silver, for the use and businesse of the said Court, to remaine in the Custody of *Francis Lord Cottington*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and now Master of His Majesties Court of *Wards* and *Liveries*; Upon the *Reverse* of which new Seale betweene the *Supporters* and the *Scrowle*, His Majesty hath caused three Feathers (with a Princes Coronet (the badges of the Principality of *Wales*) to be placed for the better differencing the same from the old Seale. By which Proclamation, His Majesty declares, that His said Court of Wards shall for the Term of Saint *Hilary* next and afterwards, be held and kept at *Oxford* till His Majesty shall give other order in that behalfe ; commanding all Proceffe, Indentures, and other Acts whatsoever to be sealed with the New Seale now at *Oxford*. At which place His Majesty commands *Richard Chamberline* Esquire, and other Officers of the said Court to attend ; His Majesty declaring, that He will constantly observe His Proclamations of Grace and Favour to the heirs of such persons who have bene or hereafter shall be slayne in his service in the time of this unnaturall Rebellion.

And the *Members* are as bold with other Princes, which they againe have manifested by opening the *French Ambassadors* Packet, where they have so searched, that now they say they have found an excuse in the very committing of the fact ; for they tell us they found a Letter from the Lord *Goring* to some at *Oxford*, which is of *very neare consequence to the affaires of the Parliament*. So that it was unlawfull to breake open the Packets till it was done, and after it was done, 'twas very fit and according to Law.

Nay, the Ambassadors from the States must expect like entertainment, unless they comply to favour this Rebellion ; for one of their Pamphlets last weeke saue one, sayes, *They can doe their owne worke without helpe of Forraigners, who as the case stands, will doe the Parliament little good.* Truly yours is a very little Parliament ; As for the States Ambassadors they have

have sent their Letters (dated at *Gravesend*, Jan. 12.) to desire safe conduct to His Majestie to *Oxford*, where they will be welcom'd by those who are fit to entertaine Ambassadors.

But what need the *Members* trouble themselves with Ambassadors, as long as they are resolved of the conclusion, which most bravely they have sworne to, in such a *Covenant* as will not easily be forgotten; for which purpose they have made many *Sub-Covenants*. For this day we were for certain advertised that Master *John Perkinson* of *Southampton* being much called upon by the rebellious Governour of that Towne, to take an Oath to hold the Towne against the KING and His Forces, was at last worked over to take their Oath; but immediately after, he withdrew to his chamber, and with a Pistoll shot himselfe in the side; and finding that shot faile of doing the worke, he presently set another Pistoll to his care and shot himselfe dead, a fearefull spectacle to all those perjur'd wretches, who have already taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to His Majestie, and yet have sworne a new Covenant to maintaine a Rebellion against Him. Nay, *Richard Whitehead* their neighbour Governour of *Portsmouth* (strucke it seemes with the horror of this Rebellion, and the frequent Murthers committed by him upon those loyall Subjects, starved to death in the Prison at *Portsmouth*) hath beene for these six dayes last past strangely distracted, raging hideously against God Almighty, the King, and himselfe; still crying out, *King! King! Traytors, Traytors, Damned, Damned, Damned*, with divers other fearefull execrations, as those that attend him are ready to witnesse. There are divers other Rebels have been their own Tormentors, particularly that worthy Knight, who two years since said openly in the House, that *His Majestie was not fit to be King*, shewed lately by his last words what his former deserved; but he is now gone to his place as loathsome a corps as *John Pym* himselfe.

WEDNESDAY. Jan. 17.

But the *Members* can satisfie their consciences, as  
c 3 long

long as they can have the fortune to surprize His Majesties Forces in their beds, as this day we heard they did, For Sir *Nicholas Byron* going to *Ellesmere* to Sir *Richard Wyllys*, went not so private, but some faine Brethren in *Shrewsbury* sent intelligence to *Wem*, by whose treachery the Rebels of that Garrison stole privately to *Ellesmere*, where unexpected they seized on Sir *Nicholas Byron*, Sir *Richard Wyllys*, and two or three Officers more of my Lord *Capels* Army, with almost 100 common Souldiers. But my Lord *Byron* we heare hath made a sufficient recompence, as you shall heare more particularly the next weeke.

In the meane time you may please to take notice that Master *Ralph Sneyd* (a valiant and loyall Gentleman) having lately fetched from *Newcastle-under-line* in *Staffordshire*, the Major of the Town with Sir *William Brereton* notes and letters in his pocket, went againe to the same Towne on Sunday last, and brought thence fourescore of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* best Horse, all double pistolled; for Sir *Thomas* caused divers of his Troopers to carry double Armes, with an intent to raise more forces after he came into *Staffordshire*; and you see how quickly he hath raised new forces, a little sooner then he himselfe expected.

THURSDAY. Jan. 18.

And this morning came intelligence of a partie of Rebels stollen out of *Lyme*, to make a Garrison in the zealous Lady *Drakes* house in *Dorsetshire*, whither the Lord *Paulet* brought part of his Forces on Sunday last, and made so quicke worke, that he tooke these young fortifyers before their Garrison had beene sufficiently welcomed by the good Lady of the House, who sent for them thither, but was compelled to part with them very unexpectedly. These Rebels had burned downe a very faire house of one Master *Turbervills*, and His Majesties Forces did as much by Sir *Walter Earles*, where several Rebels were housed and would not come forth, till they were fired out. And the Gentry of that County are unanimously bent to raise Forces for reducing of *Poole* and *Lyme*, that the Country may

may recover its former peace & trade, by clearing all the Ports that Ships may come in.

## FRIDAY. Jan. 19.

A good example of which trading they behold this weeke, in a ship from *Rotterdam*, which brought on Saturday last to *Apsham* neare *Exmouth*, 570 barrels of powder, and good store of Horse Armes for His Majesties service, which found a present vent at *Exeter*, where cloth and other commodities were presently paid for it, this being a great and seasonable promoter of the *Association* betwixt the two Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, who agreed to furnish themselves with 1000 barrels of powder, the better halfe whereof they have here gotten already, which hath made *Somersetshire* so earnest to be admitted into their *Association*.

And this benefit of shipping the *Members* are so sensible of, that on Saturday Jan. 9. they made a new *Declaration*, that the *Town* of *Newcastle* being possessed by *Forces* raised by the *King & Parliament* (by His Majesties command) hath been and is the principal In-let of *Foreign Aid, Forces, and Ammunition* for the strengthening of that *Force* that intends the *Destruction* to the *Parliament*: and therefore they *Declare and Ordaine*, for the better reducing of the *Town* of *Newcastle*, and the *Parts* adjacent, to yeeld obedience and submission to the command of the two *Houses* of *Parliament* ('tis a new *Stile* this) that no *Ship* or *Barque* shall make any voyage for fetching of *Coales* or *Salt* from *Newcastle*, *Sunderland*, or *Blythe*, until those places shall be reduced into such hands as shal declare themselves for the *King* and *Parliament* (they are now in such hands, as you'll see ere long) And this *Declaration* was Ordered by the *Lords and Commons* to be printed and published, *Die Sabbati 9 Januarii 1643*. But it may be worth your notice whether there be any such Saturday in *January*. For they have so long made *Sabbath* signify both *Saturday* and *Sunday*, that now it must serve for any day in the weeke.

SATURDAY.



SATURDAY. Jan: 20.

We have often told you of the famous acts of Captaine *Lawson* of *Northampton* who behaved himselfe so valiantly in the field that day) but now to our griefe we must assure you, you are never like to heare more of him. For this evening we were certainly advertised that a party of 16 Horse from *Towcester* approaching neare *Northampton* yesterday; this valiant *Cheifetaine* (with a very great feather in his Hat) drew out a Troope to face 16 Horse, they faced one another a while, till one of those 16 Horse espyed *Lawson* himselfe, and knowing him, said, *Oh! Master Lawson, is your Worshipp there?* which word so incensed this most valiant Captaine, that he leapt a small ditch (there betwixt them) but was no sooner over, but the man shot him dead, taking away from him his new hat and excellent Feather, whereupon they parted; *Lawsons* Troops tooke his body and carryed in a Cart into *Northampton*; where the people at sight of it said it was the hand of God had cut off the Captaine for causelessly murdering a poore Scout this day month, whereof we told you in the 51 Weeke of the last yeares *Mercurius*. And so Captaine *Lawson* lost his Feather, who while he lived did more businesse and mischief then a wiser man.

And here we may seasonably put you in minde of that famous gracious Message which His Majestie sent to both Houses from *Canterbury* this day two yeares; which Message (though often call'd upon by His Majestie in His severall Declarations and Messages) never yet found the least answer or consideration. And though at the same time His Majestie passed such Bills as caused those Members to make a motion for giving His Majestie thanks; yet this Message found no entertainment: the reason whereof all the world now sees, is, because it contained a brieve of those particulars which may heale the distractions then likely to follow. But the *Members* of both Houses are already in so full a body at *Oxford*, as this next week will evince to the world what Faction it is that labours the ruine of both Parliament and Kingdome.

F I N I S.



*Sacro-sancta Regum Majestas: 27*

OR;

# The Sacred and Royall Prerogative of Christian K I N G S.

Wherein SOVERAIGNTIE is by Holy  
Scriptures, Reverend Antiquitie, and sound  
reason asserted, by discussing of  
*Said to be written* five Questions.

*by J. H. B. of And, doth, but of*  
The Puritanicall, Jesuiticall, Antimonarchicall  
grounds are disproved, and the untruth and  
weaknesse of their new-devised-State-prin-  
ciples are discovered.

*by J. H. B. of And, doth, but of*  
*by William B. of Rom. 13. 1, 2.*  
The Powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore  
resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they  
that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

*by J. H. B. of And, doth, but of*  
Jan: 30. Dei gratia Mea Lux. 1643

Printed at Oxford, Ann. Dom. 1644.

2000-1780: 1780-1780

# The Sacred and Royal

Picture of Christ

Vol. 2



The British Museum

Printed by J. Smith, 1780

Printed by J. Smith, 1780

Printed by J. Smith, 1780

Printed by J. Smith, 1780

TO THE RIGHT  
HONOVABLE

IAMES,  
LORD MARQVES OF  
*Ormond*, Earle of *Ormond* and *Ossorie*,  
Lord Viscount *Thurles*, and Baron  
of *Arklo*, &c.

Lord Lieutenant Generall, and Generall Go-  
vernour of the Kingdome of  
IRELAND.

MY LORD,



ietie and policie, Church and State, Prince  
and Priest are so nearly and naturally con-  
joined in a mutuall interest, that like to  
*Hippocrates* his Twinnes, they rejoyce and  
mourne, flourish and perish, live and die to-  
gether. Sound Reformed Catholique Protestants denie  
justly such a subordination of the Prince to the Priest,  
as by any direct or indirect over-ruling power the Crown  
and Scepter are under any *coactive* (*directive* we acknow-  
ledge) over-ruling power of the Mitre, and that Kings by  
any Char ch-man or men whatsoever, Pope or Presbyte-  
ric, is censurable, dethronable, deposible. Notwithstand-





*The Epistle dedicatory.*

Overthrow me *Sion, Civitatem veritatis & sanctitatis*, and you cannot but overthrow *Ierusalem, Civitatem iustitiae*: all this is much more and solely verified of the Christian Religion: a strange wonder then it is, that so many *Archbishops* and *Bishops* in the world should promise to themselves, undertake to Christian Kings, by sacrificing the Church undoing the solemnitie of the service and worship of God, destroying Christ his Ordinances, robbing him of his patrimonie and right, to establish King and Kingdome, peace and quiet in the Land. How is it probable or possible, Religion being the *base and bottom* upon which all happinesse of King and Kingdome are grounded and founded, the cement and bond that tieth all together; the rule of right ruling, the mother of entire and heartie obedience, the life of Lawes, the nurse of quiet, and strength of all defence, that it being disordered, King, Kingdome, and State can be well, and enjoy any kinde of happinesse?

If neither the dictate of nature, nor sacred truth revealed in holy Word should confirme this truth; the sad and dolefull experience we finde, we feele this day in the *Abeldama* of these Kingdomes, has laid it open to our eyes in letters of blood, that he that runneth by may reade it. Consider how since the *sacred Hierarchie*, the Order instituted by Christ for the government of his Church, constituted by the Apostles, and continued against any prevalent opposition for fifteen ages and upwards, without interruption, hath been opposed, that in some places it is totally overthrown, in other places disgraced, weakened, and threatened with abolition of root and branch, what is the condition of Sovereigntie and Subject? You shall finde that the course against it hath been a preparatorie destructive to Royaltie, to the libertie and proprietie of the Subject. Many are deceived and thinke it skilleth not what government be in the Church;

## The Epistle dedicatory.

It is enough if the essentials and fundamentals of faith and worship be preserved. They are infinitely deceived, no societie can subsist without government, and if you destroy the government, neither can the sound faith, nor the true worship be long maintained. The Apostle intimateth this, *Col. 1. 5.* that he joyed to behold their order, and the steadfastnesse of their faith in Christ. First, their order, then the steadfastnesse of their faith in Christ, implying where right order is not maintained, steadfastnesse of faith in Christ cannot continue: a holy Father to this purpose faith well, *ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ ἀναρχία τῆς οὐσίας*, order is the mother and securitie of the being of all things have being. Do we not see that the order and government of the Roman Church doth this day preserve their humane inventions and unwarrantable superstitions, in such safety, that, alas, truth doth not prevaile much upon them are within her communion? and on the other part, our disorder, and not settled government maketh us loose too too much, and gain too too little.

Look a little upon the parallel, and consider how since Episcopacie hath been infested, and way too much given to a prevalent Faction, what malignant influence this course hath had upon Sovereigntie, and it will make it appeare, that the Mitre cannot suffer, and the Diademe be secured. It was maintained that *Episcopacie* was none of Christ's institution, it was onely the positive constitution of man. Hath not *Royaltie* been thus entertained? Do not our Secretaries impudently maintain, that Kings are the onely extract of the people, having their being and constitution by derivation from them? Do they not hold, that howsoever *Episcopacie* is a tolerable government of the Church, yet it is mutable, at the pleasure of the Church? and do they not answerably averre, that the collective or representative Bodie of the Communitie, may upon any reall or fancied exigent mould themselves into an Aristocracie

Gr. Naz.  
Orat. de  
mod. in  
disp. ser-  
vanda.

*The Epistle dedicatory.*

or Democracie? Others more desperately have reached higher, and give out, that the sacred Hierarchie is Antichristian, against Christ and his Scepter, (not being able because of their ignorance to difference betwixt *Christian Hierarchie* and *Romish Hieromonarchie.*) Have not the authors and abettors of these paradoxes in Divinitie, invented and vented as blasphemous principles against the Lord's Anointed in policie? do they not magisterially determine that Kings are not of God's creation, by *authoritative commission*, but onely by *permission*, extorted by importunitie, and way given, that they may be a scourge to a sinful people? Nor is this all; these late distempers have produced creatures not of Christ's making, *Ruling Elders* who are adopted to be Ecclesiasticall persons, with equal power, with men in holy Orders, to decide and determine in matters of faith, worship, and in the exercise of the power of the Keyes; nothing kept from them but libertie to preach publicly, to baptise, & to consecrate the blessed Eucharist. Answerable to this finde we not, that they have erected a *coordinate*, a *co-equal*, a *corrivall* power with Soveraigntie, and have made *Regnum in regno*, two Soveraignes, a thing incompatible with Supremacie and Monarchie? the persecution of Episcopacie has been so hot and cruell, that I dare say, look upon all persecutions recorded in Ecclesiasticall storie, none can parallell this, if ye consider it as it is cloathed with all its circumstances and attended with its consequents; Episcopacie after the most exact and sollicite triall, is onely the crime, except you will adde the solemnitie of the publique worship intended and attempted, to vindicate God's service, from prophanesse & contempt, and to restore it to its ancient true beautie to the shame of the Roman Church. Men innocent, men well-deserving of the Church and Kingdome, have been cast out, their estates seized, their houses visited and plundered, their blood thirsted after, their poor

*The Epistle dedicatory.*

wives forced to flie some into mountaines and wildernesse, some by sea, some one way, some another; their poore children forced to sterue or begge at best; O barbarous and inhumane crueltie, more besecming Cannibals than Christians! When the Lord's Prophets were hurt and wronged, was the Lord's Anointed not touched? *Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ascalon, lest the daughters of the Philistims rejoyce, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.* The best of Kings, in whom malice it selfe, how quicke-sighted soever, cannot finde any thing blame-worthie, (except it be a crime to be too good, and transcendently clement) hath been forced to flie from his palaces, could not finde safetie in that Citie, enlightened and enriched by his royall presence, to the admiration and envie of the whole world. His royall Consort necessitated, for personall securitie, and in a pruden-  
tiall way to provide for strengthening her Lord, the best of Husbands, to flie beyond seas. That royall Familie, those Olive-branches, the pledges and hopes of our continuing peace, divided one from another, and to this day remaining so. His revenues, his casualties seized by those have sent out Armies and Armes against him. His Forts, his strong Holds taken from him, his royall Navie employed to destroy him, keep all encouragement of Allies from him, and to divorce personally (if they could) those royall Personages in whom we are most happie, if we had eyes to see it whom in heart and affection the devill and his malice cannot divide, notwithstanding it hath been shrewdly endeavoured. More of this kinde might be added, but of purpose I forbear it.

If we will consider what private men have gained, since God and Religion, have been wronged, we will finde we have made an unhappy choice, a miserable change. No man hath protection or direction by Law, no known Law hath place, we are all oppressed and tyrannically

### *The Epistle dedicatory.*

cally over-ruled by an arbitrary power, placed in a wrong hand; all Religions (if I may call Sects so) are tolerated, except the true Catholique Reformed Religion, and all Heresies buried long ago in Hell, are revived, in number like to be more, and in their nature more ougly than all recorded by *Epiphanius*, and *S. Austin*; our Sectaries agreeing onely in the destructive part, to make away Truth and the true Government, to spoile Churches, robbe Christ of his patrimonie, abrogate the solemnity of the worship, destroy ancient Christian Monuments; but in the positive not one agreeing with another; *Ephraim* smiting *Manasse*, and *Manasse* *Ephraim*, and both of them against *Judah*. Hath any now the libertie of his person? Are not the best of Subjects, the best of God's servants kept in prisons, like to *Jeremie's* Dungeon? what property is reserved? Since Christ's patrimonie hath been despoiled, who can say, *this I have*? They command what portion, what *quota* they will, and in end he will be a Malignant at pleasure, that hath any thing! to maintain this Rebellion. If Saint *Austin* were living now, he might well say, *Quod non capit Christus, hoc rapit fiscus*. What stately houies have been spoiled? what rich and princely furniture hath been destroyed? what blood of Nobles and generous Gentry hath been shed? More in this uncivill Rebellion, in this short time, than in many yeares in long continuing Warres in many Countries beyond Seas: this losse cannot be valued, it infinitely surpasses all other losses besides. And yet give me leave to say it, if we will look upon the pressures and sufferings of the Subjects, the onely effects we feel of this glorious so much talked of Reformation, they will transcend highly all grievances complained of in the successive Reignes of seven Sovereignes. And the greatest of all judgements have fallen upon us, that some sort with the Prophet *Hoshea*, *We have no King, because we feared not the Lord, what then should a King do to us?* They have



## The Epistle dedicatory.

34. *have spoken words, swearing falsely in making a Covenant: thus judgement springeth up as hemlocke in the furrowes of the field.* A redresse of these disorders, a remedy of these evils, we need not to expect, till we turne to God by repentance, and *Moses* and *Aaron* be again rightly seated in their power, their place.

My Lord, I have put pen to paper to right our gracious Sovereigne, to undeceive his Subjects, making it appeare that his Right is independent from man, soly dependent from God: that Monarchie is the most countenanced the most authoris'd Spece of government by Almighty God; that the conveyance of this Right is not by trust from the people, and have cleared, what are *jura Majestatis*, the prerogatives inherent in the Crown incommunicable to the Subject, and how sacred his person & charge is, that they cannot be opposed, are not to be resisted. A taske it is above my strength. In the Imperiall Law it is a crime mixt with sacriledge to argue the right and power of the King; nor was it allowed to every vulgar and ordinary pencill to draw the picture of *Alexander* the great: and we see what advantage the seditious and factious have made of the escapes of some pennes: notwithstanding I am necessitated to meddle with it, with no lesse constraining and unavoydable necessity, than that made the young dumbe Prince speake. All men are tied to the maintenance of Sovereigne Right, none amongst men more than Church-men; it is a necessary truth, as aptly, plentifully, and purposely set forth in Gods Word as any else, Prince and Priest were once joyned in one person, and are so tied, that

*Aliterius*  
*Altera poscit opem res, & conspirat amice.*

We finde onely three Office-bearers anointed by God, King, Priest, and Prophet; who then more tied to maintaine the Lord's Anointed and his Right than Priests and Prophets? God hath honoured Kings to be the Nurse-fathers

### *The Epistle dedicatory.*

fathers of his Church; nor when we reflect upon by-gone storie finde we that ever the Church had either beauty, plenty, or progresse, but under Monarchie, and view this day the condition of the Christian Church under any other government than Monarchie, and we will finde her condition but sorry and poore. It is the onely government which is most countenanced and magnified in holy Writ. And I dare to say, that none nor all of them who ever writ purposely of politiques, or in an Histori-  
call way laid downe politicall Maximes, whether it be *Plato* in his fantasied Republique, or *Aristotle* in his politickes, or *Cicero*, or *Livie*, or *Dionysius Holycarnassens*, or *Cornelius Tacitus*, or who besides either by art or story is most renowned this way, have given us so fully, so apertly the right of Monarchie, the true prescript of government, and perfect rule of obedience to the subject. The ancient Fathers and Martyrs whilest Emperours were heathenish and persecutours, have delivered this doctrine, pleaded the sacred royall Prerogative of Emperours, and with other truths have sealed this with their blood. Who can deny then, but it becometh a Divine most of all men to maintain or write of this subject? A wonder then it is that some smatterers in Divinitie writing in this subject do borrow principles from old poeticall fables and toyes, make premises, and inferre conclusions not onely destructive of Monarchie, but also contradictory to that truth Scripture hath revealed. Like to them are our pettyfoggers in the Law, (I reverence learned Jureconsults who deserved well in this subject) who cry out, what have Church-men to do to dispute the King's Right? that belongeth to us, who are versed in the Lawes of the Kingdome, and know what power the Law alloweth the King, what not; these Ignaroes who are better versed in the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, than in the Acts of Christ and his Apostles, may even as well go about not

### The Epistle dedicatory.

to authorise the Book of God, except it be warranted by their Law, as to averre that the King hath nothing immediately from God, nor no sacred right but what He hath by Law. More learned Lawyers then they can be, as *Bodin, Barclay*, and others, have treated of this matter, and made as good use of Scripture and holy Fathers writing, as any other warrant besides.

*Plutarch.  
in Probl:  
Prob. 72:*

It is more than evident then, that no men are more obliged, no men may be more fitted to maintain the royall prerogative of Kings than Divines. But *Officiis quibus idoneus istus?* I confesse my weaknesse, my insufficiencie, and am forced to have recourse to a patron worthy of it, and able to maintain it. I could hit upon no subject more worthy of so great a personage as you are, nor a patron so worthy, so enabled to maintain it, and its poore Authour as your Lordship. Nobles are amongst Subjects the first-borne; the enobled amongst the Romans had a badge of a Moon or Crescent, in *Plutarch's* judgement not so much to signifie the instability or frailty of their place and honor, as to put them in minde to be obedient and loyall to their Prince the Fountain of their high Dignitie, as the Sun is to the Moon: for your high Nobilitie by a long continued race transmitted to you from most noble Ancestours, to write or recite it, were as to light a candle to adde light to the Sun in his strength, in his verticall point, and that transmitted so from them, and derived to you, that in that whole stemme, the root and all branches, who inherited the honour, not any tainted with disloyaltie. Nay, ed honour is higher, some of them have had the honour to die in the highest bed of honour, to loose their lives and great state and honour for loyaltie to royaltie. This is nothing yet but *in vobis* the splendour of birth, the glory due to those of whom you are descended.

*Nam genus, & proavos, & qua non fecimus ipsi,  
Vix ea nostra voco.*

## The Epistle dedicatory.

True Nobilitie besides these requireth not onely the inheri-  
 tance of riches (for that is but *Antiqua & inveterata diuitia*, as *Athalarie* writ to the Senate of *Rome*) with the inheri-  
 tance of honor, for that is a bodie emptie of a living soule; but it is to inherit the noble honour of noble and generous Ancestours. *Nobile* (saith *Aristotle*) *id est quod ex bono genere prodit, generosum quod à suâ naturâ non degeneravit.* Herein you all meet, for honour and vertue do contest for the excellencie, but vertue truly hath the eminencie. In you is verified that of the *Lyricke* poet.

*Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis*

*Est in iuuentû, est in equis patrum*

*Virtus; nec in bellem feroces*

*Progenerant aquila columbam.*

Malice it selfe how ingeniously witty soever, cannot prejudice you in this, whose pietie is admirable, whose wisdom and prudence is above age, above the ordinary and all your equals, a master of your passions, and so experienced in matters of State and government that it is a wonder to them who know you, and incredible to those have not been eye and eare witnesses. Your Heroicall magnanimitie speaketh it selfe in your Heroicke martiall acts, admired not onely by excellent Commanders, not onely for courage, but for prudence and rare government; by which you gained so much that the valiant *Annibals* and *Scipios* there would rather sacrifice themselves, than expose You to danger; and yet You would not act the Generall, but by doing the valiant acts, contemning dangers and death befitting inferiour Officers, but worthy of the greatest *Cesar*. Who can consider aright that more than admirable piece of prudence in that Treatie of Cessation in such a time and such a case, where You were so assaulted with two of the worst extremes of opinions, engaged both of them with the same degree of madnes, but must say, that is true *Cicero* said *de nat. deor. Nullum unquam*

## The Epistle dedicatory.

*magnus vir fuit sine afflatu divino*: the intelligent and better sort must confesse that without a great mercie to us, and more than ordinary favour from God this could not have been effected: the better sort are confident, the happy effects of that worke will make many soules live, and Your Honour live for ever. These are the loadstones of all the Honour, the love and zeale which have necessitated me to take recourse to Your Honours patrocine, that what is deficient in me, and this poore trifling Treatise, may be compensated by that eminent worth and perfection is in You. I do confesse I have so many ties by personall favours received above my desert, that I were the ingratest of Christians if I did not acknowledge it; yet give me leave to speake truth, notwithstanding all these endowments, if I had not seen, and were not assured, that in none in this age there can be seen more true discreet zeale to Christ's Church, and loyalty to Your Master our most gracious King, I had never presumed to go this way. I see it, even there and then, where and when Satan had erected his throne and *Antipas*, God and the Kings faithful servant did suffer.

My Lord, God hath sent You to us for a comfort in these worst of Christian times; who knoweth but at this time You are set at the Helme to helpe the Lord, right his Anointed, and to save a poore Church threatned with ruine? Go on in Your pietie and devotion with these Heroicall endowments God hath enabled You, and be assured God will heape honour on You and your noble Familie for ever, and reward You with an uncorrupt, undefiled, and eternall Crown of glorie: which shall be the fervent and constant prayers of

Your Lordships most humble  
and bounden Servants

I. A.





## To the Christian READER.

**C**hristian Reader, this is an extemporary piece, which was extorted by the importunity of friends; who prevailed so farre with me, that I chused rather to expose my weaknesse and in to the censure of the world, then unconsciously refuse them. To strengthen truth I was able to bring more Zeale and good affection then any other abilities. Beleeve, I write nothing but that I am assured of in conscience, in certitudine mentis, and which I beleeve to be really certaine, in certitudine entis. God knowes I am farre from temporizing, and he is of weake apprehension, that in this distemper can expect any great reward by appearing in publick to maintaine this sacred truth; experience teacheth us, that it is more advantageous to runne the contrary course, if a good conscience could allow it. If the method in handling and proposing these five ensuing questions be not so orderly, I begge pardon; and that justly, because I follow the order proposed by the Observator. If the diction be not so terse and pregnant, I am not able to helpe it; for by nature I am not enabled to delicate and witty expressions, nor have I endeavoured by industry to helpe those naturall defects. My care was ever to studie truth and reality, more then flowers of eloquence, holding that for one (as I am) of small reach, the better way is rather to be inter reales, then inter nominales. If there be any tart expression, construe it charitably as fallen by inadvertence from my pen, whereas there was no gall in my heart. If any will be at paines to examine it critically, and to answer it rationally

## To the Christian READER.

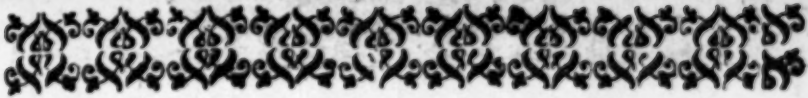
nally, and fully, I humbly entreat him to doe it in a Christian and charitable way, without passion, for which I shall heartily thanke him: And if I be not able with as much reason to answer him, I shall not be ashamed to retract my errors, and joyne heart, hand, and pen, for him and all Christian sacred truth, of which kinde I hold those, which I would maintaine, to be. If any thing in it give thee content, thanke God for it, and pray for grace and strength to the weake Author, who hath resolved to be a lover, a professor, and a maintainer of truth according to his power, at whatsoever perill, to advance the true Reformed Catholick Religion, and what may conduce to the honour of our Church, to the overthrow of that is truly Popery, and to the regaining of all erring Sectaries to the Communion of this Church. And let all of us put up our hearty and humble prayers to Al. mighty God to touch our hearts, that we may endeavour to keepe the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, to doe good in his good pleasure unto Sion, to build up the walls of Jerusalem, to re.establish his Anointed our Sovereigne in His Throne and Right, to set aright what is disjoynted in Church and State, that all of us may be happy here, and receive that Crowne of Glory, which the righteous Iudge hath layed up for them that love him, his truth and Christian peace.

— Si quid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.



---

*Elenchus*



## *Elenchus Quaestionum.*

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### *Quaestio Prima.*

**W**Hether or not the King be onely and immediately dependent from God, and independent from the body of the people, diffusive, collective, representative, or virtuall? Affirmatur.

### *Quaestio Secunda.*

Whether or not God is no more author of Regall, then of Aristocraticall and Democraticall power? of Supream, then of Subordinate command? and whether or not that Dominion which is usurped, while it remains Dominion, and till it be legally divested againe, referres to God as its author and donor, as much as that which is hereditary? Negatur.

### *Quaestio Tertia.*

Whether or not the nature of conveyance of Sovereignty to the King, is by trust immediately from the people, and mediately onely from God, and as fiduciary, so conditionate, and proportioned to what measure or portion the people please? or is it entirely and immediately by a trust devolved upon him from the King of Kings? Neg. prius, Aff. potterius.

### *Quaestio Quarta.*

Whether or not be there any Jura Majestatis, some divine Prerogatives, intrinsically inherent in the Kings Crowne and Sovereignty, which are incommunicable to the Subjects? Aff. Where is explained what they be.

### *Quaestio Quinta.*

Whether or not in any case, upon any reason, just or pretended, it be lawfull for the Subject or Subjects, in what notion soever imaginable, singly or joyntly, collectively or representatively, to oppose the sacred Authority of the King, by Force or Armes, or to resist him, either in a defensive or offensive way? Neg.

ELENCHUS CAPITUM,  
QUESTIONIS PRIMÆ.

**T**He Preface: pag. 1. containing the summe, method, and order of the ensuing Treatise.

CHAP. I.

Wherein is maintained that the King is onely and immediately dependent from God, and independent from the body of the people, diffusive, collective, representative, or virtuall. The contrary opinion is explained, The authors and asserters some of them, with their differences are recited. Pag. 6

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How that God is the immediate author of Sovereignty in the King, and how he is no creature of the peoples making, is explained, and proved by Scriptures. 19

CHAP. III.

The same truth is proved by more arguments from Holy Scripture. 33

CHAP. IIII.

That Kings are onely dependent from God, and not from the Communitie, is further proved by Scripture. The poore shifts of Suarez and Bellarmine are removed, who abusing the passage, Deut. 17. would have the constitution of the Kings of Israel to relate to the people, as it's reall and proper origin and cause; and the priviledged case onely this, that God reserved to himselfe the designation of the Person of the King. 40

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That all Christian Kings are dependent from Christ, and may be called his Vicegerents, is proved. 54

CHAP. VI.

That the King is solely dependent from God and Christ, and independent from all others, is proved by the suffrages of the Holy Fathers. 74

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CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. VIII.

*That Sovereignty is not by derivation from the Communie, is proved by more reasons.*

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CHAP. IX.

*That Sovereignty is not derived to the King from the people, communicative, by communication, so that they may resume it in some cases, is proved by reason.*

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CHAP. X.

*Wherein the truth of our tenet is by more reasons asserted, the contrary error disproved; and the absurdities in the Sectaries paradox involved, are discovered.*

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CHAP. XI.

*Scripture by example teacheth us, that Kings of the peoples making have not had Gods blessing, but have ruinated their makers.*

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CHAP. XII.

*Wherein three grounds of our Adversaries are taken off and disproved. As 1. That the interposing of an humane act in the constitution of a King, doth not hinder the Sovereignty to be immediately from God. 2. Next the inconsequence of that Sophisme; a private man may make away his personall liberty, and enslave himselfe to another, Ergo a people or multitude may doe the like, and invest a King with Sovereignty, is detected. 3. The true sense of Quisque nascitur liber is given, and the false glosse of the adversaries is discovered.*

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CHAP. XIII.

*The Maxime, Quod efficit tale, est magis tale; or Propter quod unum-quodque tale, ipsum magis tale; or Constituens constituto potior, is examined.*

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CHAP. XIII.

*Other grounds of the Jesuits and Sectaries are removed and disproved; as that, that neither Scripture nor nature determine the specification of Government; nor doe they intimate why this man more then the other, or he then a third; or these more then those should have the power of Government. And that great one is taken out of the way, where by the variety and difference is found in severall Monarchies, it is more then apparent, say they, that Monarchy is *ex ordinat*, by the voluntary composition and constitution of man.*

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CHAP. XV.

*Wherein is examined the Jesuits Maxime, that every society of mankind is a perfect Repnblick; and consequently the Communie may supply and recti-*



## Elenchus Caputum.

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*the defects and errors of Sovereignty. And the Puritanes too, that if there were not such a power and superintendency in people to supply, God had left man remediable.*

### CHAP. XVI.

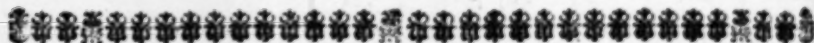
*Wherein is examined that Maxime, Salus populi suprema lex esto. And the other that the people may be without a King, but a King cannot be without people.*

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### CHAP. XVII.

*As the King hath an high calling by immediate donation from God, so hath He an high charge with His Prerogative, to be as eminent in Sanctity, as He is excellent and sacred in Power.*

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### The Printer to the Reader.

**T**He Author of this ensuing Treatise did not oversee the Presse, and the hand was not so legible as we wished which hath made many literall and other errors in the booke. The most and chiefest whereof (conscience Reader) we have here set before you, the rest you may charitably correct in y. ur owne reading.

### ERRATA.

**P**Age 1. lin. ult. *reade Antichrestes.* pag. 2. lin. 1. *r. Transfiguration.* pag. 3. lin. 34. *r. Proceed.* pag. 7. lin. 12. *dele orth.* *ibid.* lin. 19. *r. 28 in Aristocracie.* pag. 8. lin. ult. *r. Civis.* pag. 9. lin. 7. *r. and not interrupted.* *ibid.* lin. 8. *r. procedure.* pag. 10. lin. 31. *r. deteriorate.* pag. 12 lin. 13. *r. Gall Mariana, and others.* *ibid.* lin. 7. *r. these meanes.* pag. 19. lin. 13. *r. Lucianum.* pag. 29. lin. 1. *r. Reges.* *ibid.* lin. 11. *r. Regi iustitiae.* lin. 12. *r. Tyrannus.* *ibid.* lin. 15. 21. & ult. *r. Regi iustitiae.* *ibidem* lin. 20. *dele next.* *ibid.* lin. 18. *r. fourthly.* *ibid.* lin. 31. *dele fourthly and.* *ibid.* lin. penult. *r. is.* pag. 30. lin. 10. *r. that this passage.* pag. 36. lin. 29. *r. that befell before.* *ibid.* lin. antep. *dele* lin. inter Jer. 51. & Es. 13. pag. 37. lin. 17. *r. will not live it.* pag. 43. lin. 2. *r. conceive them not to.* pag. 44. lin. 1. *r. Sem.* pag. 47. lin. 12. *dele to.* pag. 50. lin. 33. *r. from.* *ibid.* lin. antep. *r. hominis in homine.* *ibid.* lin. 35. *r. Pfal. 2.* pag. 57. lin. 10. *r. is universally.* pag. 58. lin. 6. *r. Reges.* *ibid.* lin. ult. *r. Reges.* *ibid.* lin. 4. mixt. *r. next.* *ibid.* lin. 37. *r. simpliciter.* pag. 65. lin. 36. *r. writing.* *ibid.* lin. 39. *r. which were.* pag. 69. lin. 21. *r. Balthazors.* *ibid.* lin. 22. *r. by time.* *ibid.* lin. 27. *r. mediet.* *ibid.* lin. 34. *dele not.* pag. 71. lin. 3. *dele* and he himselfe. pag. 73. lin. 23. *r. inducitur ministerium.* pag. 77. lin. 29. *for as is,* *r. yet it is.* pag. 79. lin. 5. *r. He knew he was folly.* pag. 82. lin. 8. & 9. *for no lesse,* *r. as much.* *ibid.* *r. the order of.* *ibid.* lin. 9. *r. as he is.* pag. 95. lin. 38. *r. force.* pag. 100. lin. 13. *r. imperio.* pag. 101. lin. 3. *r. Puleis.* pag. 110. lin. 26. *r. sente of our.* pag. 122. *r. Exantias.* pag. 124. lin. 1. *r. was by.* pag. 131. lin. 4. *for Aristocracie,* *r. Apostolic.* *ibid.* lin. 21. *r. more then another.* pag. 137. lin. 16. *r. Sclerum.* pag. 140. lin. 33. *r. in these three.* pag. 145. lin. 31. *r. excidat.* pag. 150. lin. 29. *r. to be redressed by those.* *ibid.* lin. 38. *r. pares.* pag. 164. lin. 36. *r. misunderstood.* pag. 165. lin. 8. *r. without salutem.*

*Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas:*

O R,

The Sacred and Divine Right, and Prerogative of **KINGS.***The Sum, Method, and Order of the ensuing Treatise.*

It is not my purpose, at this time to examine and refute the opinions and errors of those, who either totally, or partially, have spoken against government, as the *fratricelli* in the judgement of some, who all leading their Independency from man, and assuming to themselves an immediate being, or derivation from Christ, no lesse then the Apostles, and every way as perfect, would submit and subject themselves to none. Our

Independent Ministry lookes this way. Or as the *Beardi*, who did hold that the government of Superiours was only for the more imperfect, but have no authority over and above the perfect. *Nec Rex, nec Lex iustis posita*: No Superiour, No Law for the Saints, the holy ones, the perfect ones. It feareth me this age fantasieth to it selfe some such thing: and have learned it of *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, who have gathered themselves together, against Moses and against Aaron, and say unto them ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy, Every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift you up your selves above the Congregation of the Lord.* Both these Sects were about the end of the thirteenth age and beginning of the fourteenth age.

Not purpose we to meddle with that mad heresie of the Anabaptists, who condemne all government whatsoever as sinfull and unlawfull. It is an Impious blasphemous error, destructive not onely of humane society but: mankind it selfe. You may reade it in their *Antibaptis Christi veri & falsi*.

*falsi*, published in Transbuama, Anno 1568. The 7 of which is, *That the false Christ hath in his Church Kings, Princes, Magistrates, and the Sword: but the true Christ hath none, nor alloweth any of these.* Wee presuppose, all with whom we are to enter in lists, doe willingly grant, *That government is not onely Lawfull and just, but necessary both for Church and Commonwealth.*

Neither intend we to refute that erroneous and pernicious tenet of some who held that, *Dominium fundatur in gratia*, that the right of dominion is founded in grace or any other supernaturall gift. For it is certaine it is neither founded, 1. *In gratia predestinationis*: in the grace of predestination: 2. nor, *In gratia gratum faciente*, in that grace which is in the stating of a man in the actuall condition of grace and Salvation: 3. nor, *In dono aliquo supernaturali gratia infuso*, nor in any supernaturall infused grace; as foundation of faith, and profession of the truth, or I cannot tell what character of Christianisme they fanfie to themselves. Whither or not the *Waldenses*, *Wicliffe* and *Hus* held any tenet like to these, I cannot now insist to prove or disprove it. But sure I am, if the writers of the Roman Church doe not wrong, some of their owne, have sayed some like thing. As *Henry* the Cardinall B. Of *Ostia*, who lived about the yeare 1260, averreth, that foundation of faith and profession of the truth, is *fundamentum Domini*. *Armacanus de Paupertate Christi* saith, that *fundatur in gratia gratum faciente*. Nor will I take the pains, to examine *Gerson*, the Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, who lived in the time of the Councell of *Constance*, who *de vita spiritus*, confid. 15. And others after following him, did hold that the Just did acquire a new title and Right to what they possesse either in dominion of propriety or Jurisdiction. If any desire to have more satisfaction in this point, I referre them to the *Casuits*, where they treat *de Subiecto domini*. pitty it is that too many doe confidently hold these or the like tenets, and in a worse sense then *Gerson*, for his tenet with a Little benigne Interpretation, may passe for tollerable, if not warrantable.

Nor is it fit or pertinent for us now, to refute the error of the *Canonists* and others, who hold, that *Directum Dominium*, the direct and primarie power supream, whither Civill or Ecclesiasticall is in the Pope as Christs Vicar upon earth, Immediately from Christ derived unto him, and from Him to all Kings whatsoever, mediately by dependence and Subordination. The Jesuits are ashamed of this: and therefore will have the Pope only to have *Indirectum Imperium*, an Indirect Directive and Coercive power, over all Kings and States, in ordine ad Spiritualia, as civill power and businesse are related to Religion and Salvation. It is a curious subtile quicke  
and

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and nicete of Schollerske invention, and a juggling trick to bring all Kings,  
(Christian at Least) Kingdomes and States, into subordination and Subjection,  
to the transcendent and Extravagant power of the Pope. Nor doth this  
expedition differ from the other, in the matter or extent of the power,  
but in *modum*, in the manner of the thing as they claime it. And com-  
meth fully home, that the Pope, by this indirect right of his related to Re-  
ligion by which any civill act or businesse whatsoever, with his schoole  
formalities, he may qualifie with such an ordination and relation to Spiritu-  
als, that directly by this indirect power he may King and unking at his plea-  
sure. Our Presbyterians if they runne not fully in this way, they are very  
neare to it. I wish we were so happy, this time, as that we had not to doe  
with other Impugnors of Sacred and Royall authority but Jesuits and Ca-  
nonists.

That which we have proposed to our selves, in this short ensuing trea-  
tise, is to consider the maine grounds, by which the Iesuite and Puritane en-  
deavour by no lesse spurious then specious pretexts, of Liberty of the peo-  
ple and Subject, of the reforming of Religion, purging it from errour, pre-  
serving it in puritie, to robbe Kings of their Sacred and divine Right and  
Prerogatives making them derivatives from the people: in whom they  
will have all Supream power originally and radically primarily Seated: So  
that if Kings faile in performance of their duty, The people may supply it, at  
least in some cases, may doe it of themselves: Nay that Kings are ac-  
countable to them as to their Superiours, censurable, punishable, and de-  
thronable too. By which the Copie hold of a Crowne is no better then, *Du-  
rante beneplacito plebis* or *communitatis*, enduring the good will of the  
Community: for by these mens principles the people are made Iudges, and  
may find exigents, which will warrant them to resume, and to exercise this  
power. Puritan and Iesuite in this, not onely consent and concurre, but like  
*Herod and Pilate* are reconciled to crucify the Lords annointed. A thousand  
pities it is that our Sectaries, pretending such a zeale against Popery, and  
who no lesse maliciously then confidently rubbe upon sound Protestants, the  
aspersions of Popery and Malignancie, doe joyne with the worst of Papists,  
in the worst at least most pernicious doctrines of Papists. But ten thou-  
sand times more pitty it is, that the true reformed and sound Protestation Reli-  
gion should suffer, by such miscreants, that sound Protestants should be char-  
ged with these heresies in after ages. We will be forced to disclaime them  
and say with Saint *Job*: *They were amongst us, but were not of us*, and *they  
have gone out from us*. It is not warrantable, to be so large in our charitable  
defence of any, as to prejudice the inviolable and sacred truth of Almighty  
God.

Our worke is, to examine and diffuse some new devised State-principles, set on foot in this distempered Age, which have robbed Church and State of peace and happinesse, which these Kingdoms of late, and long continuance, have plentifully enjoyed under the Government of our blessed King and his Predecessours, to the envie of other Neighbour Kingdoms and States.

These may all of them be reduced to five great ones. 1. First, that Royall Authoritie is originally and radically in the People, from them by consent derived to Kings immediately, mediately onely from God. That the collation or donation of the power is from the Communitie. The approbation onely from God. 2. The second, that God is no more Authour of Regall than of Aristocraticall and Democraticall Power; of Supreme than of Subordinate: and that Dominion which is usurped, and not just, while it remains Dominion, and till it be legally again divested, referres to God, as to its Authour and Donor, as much as that which is hereditarie. 3. The third, that Sovereigntie and Power in a King is by conveyance from the People, by a trust devolved upon him; and that it is conditionate, fiduciarie, and proportioned according as it pleaseth the Communitie to entrust more or lesse. 4. The fourth, that Royall Power in a King is not simply Supreme, but in some cases there is a co-ordinate Power or collateral; nay, that in some cases the King is subordinate to the Communitie. 5. The fifth and last is, that the King in some cases may be resisted and opposed by violence, force, and armes, at least in a defensive way.

These are the maine foundations upon which all those impious courses are built, and which have had such influence upon disaffected and lesse knowing Subjects, to raise and cherish these distempers and rebellions, for which all sound-hearted and good Subjects mourne. Yet to adde the more lustre to them, there be couched under them, or added to them, a number of specious generall maximes apt to ensnare the popular Faction, which we shall by Gods helpe cleare, and demonstrate to be untruths, and popular sophismes, as they offer in their own proper place. The contrary of what they affirme, wee hold to be sound Divinitie, agreeable to the truth revealed in Scripture, consonant to the tenets and practise of the ancient Christian Church, and grounded upon sound reason deducted out of nature, and the best institutions of policie and government.

That we may the more orderly proceed, we summe up all into five Questions; whereof the first is this, whether or not Sovereigntie or the Royall Power of a King be independent from all creatures, soly and onely dependent from God: immediately from him, and neither from the Com-

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mentie, & he diffusive, collective, representative, or virtuell Bodie of the People? In which by Gods grace we will make it appeare, that the King is the derivative of the *primative* King, *who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords*.

The second is, whether or not, God is the Author of Royall Power, than of Aristocraticeall or Democraticall; of supreme than subordinate? of, usurped and not just, than of just Government and regall? In which it will appeare, that by Gods institution Royall is graded and authorized above others: that Aristocracie, Democracie, and Monarchie are not, *Species univoca regiminis, sed analogica*, not univocall Kindes and species of Government, but equivocall at best analogicall; are, how soever tolerable, and not so perfect, some way defective, and that they degenerate from the true and most perfect species of Government, Monarchie, in which is *formalis & completa gubernandi ratio*, the most formall and compleat essence of Government.

The third is, whether or not, Sovereignitie and Royaltie be in a King by conveyance of trust fiduciary and conditionare issuing from the People, by a trust devolved upon him in that portion as pleaseth them to proportion? In which will be evident, that the trust of Sovereignitie and Government is by God devolved upon the King. That all Sovereignitie related to God is fiduciary and conditionate, but related to the People is absolute.

The fourth is, whether or not by divine institution any man or men, some few or many, have any co ordinate, co-equal, or collateral Power with the Sovereignitie of Royaltie? or whether or not in any case or exigent, a King can be subordinate? In the resolution of which question fitly and conveniently will be discussed, that *In quo formale Imperii consistit*, that in which the essence of Sovereignitie doth consist; and without which it cannot subsist; as that it is *supreme, perpetuall*, and freed from all coercive and restrictive Power, which the Hebrewes call *Imperium majus*, the Politickes *κρίσις πολιτικὴ*.

The fifth and last is, whether or not in any case it is lawfull for Subjects, one, any, more, or all to oppose a Prince.

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**Quaestio prima.**

**Whether or not, the King be onely and immediately dependent from God, and independent from the Bodie of the People, diffusive, collective, representative, or virtuall?**

**CHAP. I.** *The affirmative is maintained, the contrary opinion is explained, the Authors and Assertors, some of them with their differences are recited.*

**WE** hold the affirmative, that the King is onely and immediately dependent from Almighty God, the King of Kings, and Lord of lords, and independent in his Sovereigntie and Power, from the Communitie in what notion so ever, you conceiveth it either as a *diffusive, collective, representative, or virtuall Bodie*.

The Jesuite and Puritane to depreesse Kings averre, that all power is originally, radically, and formally inbivient in the People or Communitie, and from thence is derived to the King. In the explaining of this proposition there is amongst those who lay this foundation for the building of their Babel, a great latitude of diversitie. Lately I read in one, who is the Author of the Tract concerning Schisme and Schismatickes, pag. 29. *We have believed him that hath told us, that in Christ Iesus, there is neither high nor low, and that in giving honour every man should be ready to preferre another before himselfe: which saying cuts off all claime certainly of superiority by title of Christianitie, except men thinke that these things were spoken onely to poore and private men. Nature and Religion agree in this, that neither of them hath an hand in this Herauldrick of Secundum sub & supra, all this comes from composition and agreement amongst themselves.* I have given you his words, I should be glad to be mistaken, and crave him mercie. But as I conceive him, this position is worse than any I know of the Jesuits, or more moderate Sectaries, both of them acknowledge a necessitie of Government is taught by nature and grace, and that the distinction of superiority and inferioritie is the dictate of common reason and Religion. Otherwise

wise neither nature nor Religion may avoid confusion or destruction: God who is the God of order and not of confusion is the Author of this Hierarchy of *Sacraments*, *Sabbath*, & *Supper*, in the whole universal Church in State. Hath not God in the morall Law taught it, *Honora Patrem*; &c. Honour thy Father, &c. Do not Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* *Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 14. v.* command this as the will of God? And did not our Saviour practise it, and his Apostles after him, and after them all the Christian Church? You must take away human societie in Church and State; if you take away this Hierarchy of superioritie and inferioritie. Sure I am, the Jesuits do hold that Government is *ex jure natura*, by the law of nature. I hope our Sectaries thinke no worse in this point than the Jesuits.

I returne to the Jesuit and Puritan, who are very like other in this tenet, but give me leave to say, for as bad as the Jesuite is, in my conceiving the Puritan is worse. Let us make a parallel. 1. First the Jesuit sayes, that all power civill is radically and originally seated in the Communitie or multitude, God having made it the *Primum subiectum*, the first subject in which it is seated. The Puritan joyneth hands heere with the Jesuit. 2. Next, both of them say, it is from the multitude by way of collation and donation to one, as in Monarchie, to some as Aristocracie, to many as in Democracie, so that immediately it is from the People and mediately from God, and not so much by collation, as by approbation. How the Jesuit and Puritan walke along in an equall pace. See *Bellarmino, l. de Laici, ca. 6. Suarez. Defens. Doctrinae Orthodoxae contra Sectam Anglicanam, l. 3.* 3. Thirdly, that the People may change Monarchie, into Aristocracie, or Democracie, or an Aristocracie into a Monarchie, or Democracie, or *a contra*, which way you will, for ought I know they differ not in this neither. 4. But some of our new State-Divines, do hold that this Power is derived to the King from the People, *Cumulative* or *Communicative*, non *Privative*, by way of communication or cumulation, but not by way of privation; that is, howsoever the People communicate this Sovereignty to the King by trust; yet they denude not themselves of this Sovereignty. To make it plain, it is in their opinion no other wise than as when the King of *England* appoints a Lieutenant, Deputie, or High Commissioner of *Ireland* or *Scotland*, he denudes not himselfe of his royall power, but delegates them with power and trust for his service. If this be their minde, (for I cannot conjecture at any other, and if they have any other sense, I wish they would make it plain) The King is in a poor case, by such a derived Power: for then as the King of *England* giving to his Deputie or Deputies that power onely *cumulative*, he can not by reason or law, seeing *Potior est dele-*  
*gantis*

*Tunc quam de potestate arbitror*; that the principall his authority is more excellent then the delegates, nor can he be debarred from that right, the Law of nature giveth him, *disciplinam non transfert potestatem*, by procognition, his owne proper entire right; or evocation to determine or Judge in any thing that concerneth that His Kingdome. If they authorise the people so, Let any that hath common sense Judge in what condition these new-state divines doe put Kings. 4. They averre (which maketh me the more inclinable to conceive that to be their minde which before we have expressed) that the same Sovereigne power is, (Howsoever derived from the Community to the King) in the people *suppletive*, that is, that if the King be deficient in necessary duties of government for the good of the Church and State, the people by their innate power, may doe and Supply it. This our Rabbies have not onely taught but practised here and elsewhere in His Majesties dominions. yet in my poore reading I have not found any Jesuite, (although I confesse by deduction out of their principles this Consequent may be expressed) so roundly and right downe to say it. It is true that Bellarmine saith in his recognitions Lib. 3. q. *de Laicis populus, nunquam ipsam potestatem in regem transfert, quin illam sibi in habitu retinet: ut in certis casibus etiam actu recipere possit*: that the people doe never so transfer their power into the King, but that they retain it to themselves habitually: that in some certaine cases they may resume it. I finde a tenet bad enough Impious enough Sacrilegious enough, but he doth not say, that this power is transferred onely *cumulatively*: Nor doth he talke of any *Suppletive*, auctuall supply: onely he telleth of an *habituall* retaining in the people: and that upon some cases they may resume it, not in every ordinary case, nor can they do it. It is true Bellarmine expresseth not the case or cases, He knew it to be difficult, or would have it it is like, to be a reserved case for the Pope of Rome, when it pleaseth him to determine or define it. But if wee may guesse at his mind by his Brother Jesuite Suarez reade him Lib. 3. *defens. orthod. fid.* c. 3. §. 2. and 3. and there he telleth you, that he will have it definit and constant in law and that extant and evidents: *vel antiquis & certis instrumentis, vel immutabili consuetudine*, either by ancient and faithfull records of Law, or by unchangeable and not interrupted custome. If this can not be produced, the onely case he assignes is, *Si Rex sua potestate in manifestam civitatis perniciem abutatur*: If the King evidently, apparently abuse his power and Sovereignty to the torall destruction of his Kingdome. (Let none cavill that wee English *Civitas* the whole Kingdome) comprehending King and Kingdome, for they that have but the termes of policy, know that *Civitas* is the whole Kingdome and State, with the King, and *Cives* the true Latine word

word for a Subject. He giveth his reason why in such a case this is lawfull *quia potest populus naturali potestate ad se defendendum uti, quia hac se nunquam privavit*: because the people may use that power of selfe-defence with which nature hath endowed them, for they did not divest themselves of this power, nor was it transferred upon the King.

The result of Suarez munde is, that if there be not Authentically uncontrollable records, or Immemoriall and interrupted Customes, to determine the cases, the Iudges, the way of precedence, the bounds and extent, *Quos ultra citrag*. How farre and no farther, there is no case lawfull or Imaginable, but in the abuse of Sovereignty to the totall destruction of King and Kingdome, which case as we thinke howsoever Imaginable, yet *in facto esse*, it is impossible; as we will show after in the last question that this is not warrantable by Gods institution, nor doth the Charter of nature entitle us to this Right of selfe defence, in this case to make away, nay to resist a King. and observe how warily the Iesuite qualifies his case. first it must not be a feared or conjectured case of ruine and destruction to King and Kingdome, but manifest and cleare as the Sun shine. Next, that not any case of Injustice oppression or Tyranny doth warrant them to doe or act this, but a manifest actuell overthrowing of the whole Kingdome, King and all Subjects. *Gerson* and others of the Parisian Doctors qualifie the case thus: 1. That it is necessary, that he intend and attempt the totall overthrow and destruction of the Kingdome. 2. Next that a jealousie or conjecturall evidence is not sufficient. It must be manifest as evident as it were written with a ray of the Sun. 3. To these two must be added Invincible and Insuperable obstinacy, which cannot by humble reverence, deprecation, supplication, or any other means else, which becommeth a Subject to use in all reverence, prudence, and Submission to a Prince be amended: Let God and good men judge, If our case this day be so circumstanced and qualified. Thirdly it is worth our noting, that he speakes not of resuming Sovereignty to the people as to it's proper owner, by which this resistance or censure is to be done: But of a naturall power of selfe defence, of which the people and Community were never denuded nor divested. That this is the Iesuits mind appeareth yet more clearely by what followeth: for saith he *it is not lawfull to the people to restrain or Limite the power which they have once transmitted and committed to the King, Quia Lex iustitie non permittit, qua docet Legittima pacta non esse rescindenda, & donationem semel absolute factam revocari non posse, neq; in totum, neq; ex parte & maxime quando onerosa sunt*: The very law of Common equity alloweth not that Contratts, and Covenants, should be repealed; and what is once transferred by donation, may not by the same law be made void either



whole or in part, nay not when the Condition is to the prejudice of the donor. He addes more, That Lawes made by a Prince can not be repealed or made void, by the people or Community, without the tacite or expresse consent and allowance of the Prince. No, He addes more that a Prince doth not *pendere a populo in sua potestate, etiamsi ab ipso eam acceperit, quia poterit pendere in fieri, & non postea pendere in conservari*. Doth not depend from the people in his Sovereignty and power, although He had it from them; because saith he, while he was a making, or to be made King, it was of them, but to continue to be so, it is not from them. Let mee adde with this of *Suarez*, another passage of *Bellarmino* where he contradicts that he speaketh which before wee cited *Recognit. lib. 39. de laicis*. The passage you have in his tract against *Padre Paulo*, where he grants that a people or Community may have some power of approving or rejecting of a Preacher over them while he is a chusing, or to be instituted, but not after he is chosen, or appointed, He proveth this thus: *Quemadmodum* saith he, *exercitus poterat approbare, aut reprobare personam qua in Imperatorem proponeretur; ubi tamen Imperator factus esset, illum judicare non poterat; neque in illum ullam habet potestatem*. as of old amongst the Romanes, when the Armies or Souldiers did choose the Emperour, *The army might accept or reject him that was to be created Emperour, but being made Emperour and invested in the Empire, the armie was no more his Judge, neither had any Coercive or Coactive power above him*. Whilest the Cardinall was not *Audien, & Cardinali*, wedded to the Conclusions of the Roman Sea, truth and honesty fell from his pen. These things I observe not to plead for Jesuits, the bane of Christian peace, nor that I thinke that there is more honesty in them then in a Puritane, but onely to put our Sectaries in mind that howsoever their tenets by deductions & consequences are tant'amount as theirs yet they are more warie and prudent in their expressions, for I never see how they their *Communicative and Suppletive*, by the most benigne sense can suffer so favourable an Interpretation, as the Jesuits tenets doe. Besides our Sectaries have to consider, by how much more they detenerate and depresse Kings, committing or appropriating so extravagant a power transcendent above them, to the Community or people, who are the weakest in Judgement, the most instable in their resolutions and conclusions, ready to cry to day *Hosanna*, and to Morrow *Crucifige*; ready to cry to *Gedon* now Raigne thou and thy sonne for ever over us, and Incontinent joyne with *Sichem*, and his base sonne *Abimelech* kill his 70 sonnes all of them, but *Jotham* who miraculously by Gods providence escaped: who in Scripture are compared to the raging of the Sea, for their violence and impetuosity; and ever casting up dirt, for their

their corruption: then doth the Iesuite who will not admit people shall doe it, till the Pope take notice of it, as competent Judge by divine appointment or made umpire by arbitrement. for sure I am that the most solid and Learned of the Roman Church doe hold, that Subjects cannot by any be loosed from the oath of allegiance till the Pope doe it. againe, I pray you consider what encouragement is it for Kings and Monarchs to become Nurse-fathers of the Reformed Church, when by our printing and practises wee abate them so farre as to make them the basest extract can be derived from the Community; and that they are deposable and dethronable by the people, upon any exigent they judge sitting. Will not any understanding Prince chuse rather to submit and subject his Crowne to the Pope's Miter, then to the furie and violence of an untamed beast. where piety should be, reason and Iudgement may be, and if all be deficient, yet wrath may be sooner in one, in him appeased: then in a *bellua multorum caput*. His avarice or Ambition sooner satisfied, then is imaginable, of that intariable Beast of the Community.

Fifthly, Our Gamaliels hold that as this Sovereigne power is Originally formally radically inherent in the people, So it is *Reductive* by way of Reduction theirs, that is in case of totall defaillance of a King and his posterity, or in case a King by just demerit, *excidat iure suo*, forfeit his Right, This right reverts and returnes to the Community againe. And in this, for ought I know both Iesuite and Puritane conspire, onely the Iesuite sworne to maintaine the Exorbitant pride and power of Pope, reserveth the Interest extravagant of the Pope. And as Papelings doe it *in ordine ad Spiritualia*; So Presbyterians come well nigh it, who will have the King, but *Custos* and *Vindex*, and most put in execution what the Presbyterie or assembly determines in Gods case and cause: otherwise you know what they may doe, *Excommunicate &c.* and what followes upon that you know by joyning the Law and the Gospell. *Math. 18.* It is Christs command, that an *Excommunicate shall be unto the as an Heathen or Publicane*: and the tenor of the law runnes, *Deut. 17.* *A stranger shall in no wise reigne over thee.*

Because we are sure that our adversaries in the Roman Church will the next day either strengthen their tenet, asserting it by the testimony of our men such as they will have us to owne without all reason, or then that they disclaime this part of the tenet, by which such extravagant power is given to the people, which the Pope may doe at leasure and pleasure, for neither he nor any councill of theirs hath as yet determined it to be *de side*; and turne it home as a true broode of Reformed Religion, which I most feare, and with good reason: for when the Jesuits were of late in this our Blessed

Kings Reigne charged by a Church-man that their Doctrine was seditious, and treacherous concerning Kings; a Jesuite in *Spain* was bold to answer, that the same tenets were preached and printed by ours, and practised, before a Jesuite was, or ever they did print, gave a paper with warrant of the Bookes, as *Goodman, &c.* and it is well known here, what was professed and protested by Father *Knot* in his Epistle dedicatory to our Gracious Sovereigne before his Book entituled, *Christianitie maintained* about the time of the stirres and distempers in *Scotland*. Because I say, our Enemies are so malicious and subtle to take all possible advantages to wrong us, and our good Cause, I averre confidently, that those and the like tenets were never taught nor believed by the sound Protestants of the Reformed Churches, but our Sectaries learned them of their *Bouchier, De justâ abdicatione, Hen. 3. Rossæus peregrinus his de justâ reip. in principem potestate. Hottoman his Francogallia, his de jure regn. Gall.* and others. And for my part I probably conjecture by the termes they use, that they have borrowed their first main tenet of the Sorbonists, and others of that kinde; who to oppose the Pope his infallibilitie in judgement, his unlimited power, and to subject him to a Councell, did dispute themselves almost out of breath, to prove that *potestas spiritualis summa*; was by Christ first and immediately given *unitati, or communitati fidelium*: that so the power might never perish, the truth might be ever preserved, and that howsoever for the time it was virtually in the Pope, yet he had it onely from the communitie of the faithfull *communicatively*, and in case of default, in them it was *suppletive*; and in case that the power of the Church was abused to heresie or tyrannie, the Pope was deposable (not onely censurable) by a Councell. This question was acutely disputed before, about, and after the Councell of *Constance*. In the like manner to vindicate the Sovereigntie of Kings, from subordination or subjection to the Sea of *Rome in temporalibus*, they made the communitie of the People, the prime, first, proper, and immediate subject of all Civill Power, intending at this time onely to vindicate Princes from the sacrilegious and violent invasion of the Pope of *Rome*, who most impiously and tyrannically usurped upon them; as *Gregorie Nazianzen* sayes; it may well be that ἀντιρία τῆς ἀνβολῆς, like to a Cooper to right a bowed or crooked sticke, will bend it too much to the other side, to rectifie it, so these men to right Princes from the tyrannie of the Pope of *Rome* run upon the other extreme, for the time not considering it; as the Fathers to shun the *Scylla* of *Manicheisme* who imposed an inevitable fate and necessitie upon all the voluntarie actions of man to vindicate mans wil, & freedom from inevitable necessitie

necessitie, and to assert to it its native libertie, they did run so farre to the other extreme, that they ascribed too much to the naturall power and strength of mans free will, and so seemed in heate of dispute to derogate too much from the necessitie of grace to our doing good. Of which expressions the Pelagians afterward did make use against the Orthodoxe.

Some there be, who do maintain these Parisians and others, that howsoever they did thinke Kings and Soveraigntie were from the People by their consent, yet that power was immediately from God. The maintainers of this opinion I honour much for their learning and other excellent parts. But give me leave to say it, I do not see how it can be maintained, though I intend as much as any man to contrive all men in the best sense. Do not all of them distinguish *Inter potestatem Civilem & Ecclesiasticam*, betwixt Civill and Ecclesiasticall power; that Kings and Emperours have their Civill power at first by donation from the People; but Church-men may be chosen or deputed for sacred Orders or Functions by men, but the donation or collation of the power is from God? Do they not hold that *in fieri*, Kings are dependent from People, but not *in facto*? While they are instituted, but not after that they are invested with that power derived from the Communitie? Do they not maintain that they are immediately from God but in regard of approbation? That, in summe, in this point, they hold the Kings Power, his constitution *in fieri*, is by the Peoples donation, transferring their innate inherent right upon him; which being immediately by God approved of, they depend no more *in conservari*, upon the People; their words are, *Ita quod in possidendo illo (scilicet Imperio) nulum recognoscit superiorem præter Deum*: that it is so, that a King in possessing his Empire and Soveraigntie acknowledgeth no superiour but God: which in effect is no more, than when any man by industrie or donation acquireth a right or proprietie, if he come well by it, he is righteous possessor of it, by Gods confirmation and approbation: yet do they hold too, that the People and Communitie may *propter crimen civile & politicum destituere principem*, for a civill enormitie against the Common-wealth depose and dethrone a King. And notwithstanding they maintain that the Pope may not, cannot for any civill crime or transgression, no nor for any spirituall either depose a King, *nisi de per accidens*, but accidentally; for they hold that the Pope cannot depose *sententialiter* legally, judicially, and orderly, a King, or Emperour, although he may excommunicate *sententialiter*, legally, and by his own innate power, as they say: & *finaliter* or *consecutive*, and by way of consequence, by his sentence of Excommunication compell or move those that have power to depose him: and so accidentally.

dentally, occasionally, and by way of consequence onely he does depose, not properly by himse, or any power innate and inherente in him. And on the other side they hold that the Emperour *de per accidens*, accidentally may depose the Pope; for if the Pope abuse his power and place to the dimmage of the Empire and Common-wealth, the Emperour may forfeit his temporall estate, confiscate his goods, and what else he holdeth as the vassall of the Empire, and by this meanes, that those that have power over the Pope, (which in their sense is an Oecumenicall, a generall Councell) to depose and degrade the Pope. So equally keep they the scales betwixt the Emperour, Kings, and Pope.

To demonstrate these truths by their grounds and testimonie, it appears evidently; first, that when they distinguish betwixt secular and sacred power, sacred they acknowledge supernaturall, and immediately by donation from God: but secular to be naturall, humane, and ordinary, by donation from the Communitie. Next that they acknowledge God to have no immediate hand in collating secular power, but by way of approbation. Thirdly, that they allow the People authoritie and soveraigntie not onely to censure but to depose Princes, as doth also *Marsilius monand. Patav. ad Ludovic. IV. part. 1. c. 12.* When he hath acknowledged that *Moses, Iosua, Saul, David*, and such had immediate institution from God Almighty, for other Kings and Governours their right he saith, *Provenit immediate ex arbitrio humanae mentis*, it is immediately from the free election and concession of man. *Jacobus Almain* in his Tract, *De suprema Pot. Ecclesi. & Laica, q. 2. c. 1.* saith expressely, *In sola approbatione divina fundatur quaecunque potestas jurisdictionis Civilis & Laica*, all secular power, and jurisdiction is founded in the sole approbation of God; and that you mistake him not, he telleth you immediately before, that for the collation of the power it is not, but *Aliquibus titulis creatis mediantibus*, by some right or title ordinary, *Scilicet vel titulo successionis, vel hereditate, vel venditione vel donatione, vel aliqua permutatione*; either by the right of succession, or the right of inheritance, or by alienation, or by donation, or by some way of exchange. See him more fully, *cap. 5. ibidem.* where he giveth you the three wayes which all the Sorbonists conceive to complete all the manner, how man may be said to have any thing immediately from God. Let me referre you again to another passage of *Marsilius Patavinus de translatione Imperii cap. 6.* Answering that Objection for the Popes power above Emperours and Kings, that the Pope *Zacharias* deposed *Chilpericke* and enthroned *Pipin*, saith, *Sed Admonius in gestis Francorum scribit, & verius, Pipinum per Francos legitime in regem electum, & per regni proceres eleva-*



tum: per Bonifacium quoque Rhemenſem Archiepiſcopum inuictum Suiſſone, in Monaſterio Sancti Medardi. Childericus qui tunc ſub nomine Regis in deliciis marceſcebat & ocio, fuit in Monachum conſuratus. Unde non illum Zacharias depoſuit, ſed deponentibus ut quidam aiunt conſenſit. Nam talis depoſitio Regis, & alterius inſtitutio, propter rationabilem cauſſam non ad Episcopum tantummodo, neq; ad clericorum aliquem aut clericorum collegium pertinet, ſed ad Uniuerſitatem civium inhabitantium regionem, vel nobiliū, vel iſtorum valentiorē multitudine. The reſult of all is this, Pope Zacharias did not chuſe Pipin King of France, nor unking Chilpericke, but the Commontie and Pectres of Franre did both: and Boniface Archbiſhop of Rhemes anointed him at Soiſſon, in the Abbey of Saint Medard. The Pope had no authoritie in the one or other, but a naked conſent, for the depoſing of ſuch a King as Childericks, who was a ſtupid and naughty man, living beaſtly in his pleaſures, nor the chuſing of another, as Pipin doth not, for moſt conſiderable Reaſons belong, either to Biſhop, any Church-man, or corporation of Clergie, but only to the whole communie of the Subjects, or to the Nobles, or to the greater and better part of the whole. You ſee here Marſilius ſpeaketh the language of the Doctours of Sorbon. For you will reade their diſtinction in anſwering the very ſame Objection, that Zacharias the Pope, both in the depoſition of the one, and conſtitution of the other had a hand *conſenſivè*, not *authoritativè*, by a naked aſſent, not by authoritative interpoſing, or right in this Act.

To ſhut up all this, I referre you to one place, by viewing of which you ſhall have explicitly three *Iacobus Almayn*, *Iohannes de Pariſiis*, and *Ockam*, all of them Doctours of Paris, and breathing the ſame thing, with the Patavin Doctour *Marſilius*. *Almayn* hath it, who writ for *Ockam*, and in the words alleageth *Ioannes de Paris verbatim de Supr. Pot. Eccleſ. & Laic. q. 2. c. 5.* where with *Ockam* he grants that the Pope for hereſie may depoſe a King, and the People for tranſgreſſing againſt the Commonwealth. But that you may conceive all aright, he ſaith, *Non licet Papa nec propter civile, nec propter ſpiritnale crimen deponere, niſi de per accidens. Et non pertinet ad Papam ſententialiter deponere Imperatorem, licet ſpectet ſententialiter excommunicare, & finaliter per cenſuram Excommunicationis eos qui habent authoritatem deponendi cogere ut illum deponant. Et ſic de per accidens deponit ſolummodo & non directè.* The ſenſe is, It is not proper nor lawfull to a Pope to depoſe an Emperour, either for any civill or ſpiritual crime, for errors in policie or religion, but onely accidentally. The Pope may ſentence the Emperour with Excommunication, but not with depoſition, and ſo upon the by, may move the People or the multitude who

who have authoritie over him to dethrone him. And this is done by the Pope not properly but improperly, not effectivly but consecutively. The like he subjoynes concerning the Emperours power over the Pope; that if the Pope abuse the power he hath, to the disturbance and hurt of the civill State, the Emperour may forfeit his state, confiscate his goods, and so indirectly make, move and force those have power above the Pope, which in their opinion is the whole Church, or the Representative which is an œcumenicall counsell, to depose the Pope, and institute another. To these I might adde *Gerson* and others, I referre you to *Gersons* considerations, and amongst these that you will reade the seventh.

I have insisted on this especially for two reasons; one is, that you may see these tenets came not into the world with *Luther* and *Calvin*, but were long before there was any word of a Reformer. *Ioannes de Parisiis* lived and taught at *Paris*, in King *Philip* surnamed *Palcher*, and *Boniface* the eighth's time, about the yeer of our Lord, 1296. *Willielme Ockam* an English borne, and *Regius Professor* in *Paris*, who writ his Dialogue at the request of King *Philip*, and after his death fled to the Emperour *Lewis* the fourth, died as some thinke about 1320. *Gerson* Chancellor of the Univerſitie of *Paris*, lived in the time of the Counsell of *Constance*, and died about 1420. And *Almayn* the first and chiefe Professour in *Sorbon*, who took upon him the defence of *Willielme Ockam*, if you will believe *Flaccius Illyricus*, wrote Anno 1512. a book against *Cajetan*, for the power of a Councel above the pope, which was printed *Coloniæ* 1514. All these were prior to *Luther* or *Calvin*. Our Rabbies then have drawn these Doctrines out of their polluted cisternes.

The other reason is, because some too charitably, and to the prejudice of veritie, interpret the Authours above cited and their kinsmen.

If any man will take and hold them to the better sense, I will not be contentious, though I professe I cannot see it, yet will it appeare otherwise that those are not the tenets of the Reformed, Catholique Church, but the fopperie of Poperie. See *Thomas Aquinas* 1. de regim. princ. c. 6. where he saith, *Si ad jus multitudinis pertineat sibi providere de Rege, non injustè ab eadem Rex institutus potest destitui, si potestate regni tyrannicè abutatur*: in which passage you have, that people may make Kings, unmake them, in case of tyrannie. This Book is suspected and for many just and pregnant reasons not to be *Thomas Aquinas's*, and therefore I referre you to the genuine *Thomas*, 1. 2. q. 90. art. 3. q. 90. art. 3. & q. 97. art. 3. & 22. q. 10. art. 10. And if I be mistaken of his sense, blame one of his acutest scholars who averres it; *Suarez* l. 3. defens. orth. fid. adv. Scilicet. Anglia, ca. 2. And long before *Thomas Aquinas* pope *Zachary* taught the French this Doctrine, as you may reade *Avent.* l. 3. *Annal.* *Boiaria.* *Princeps*, saith

he, *Populo cuius beneficio possidet, obnoxius est: Quæcumque n. habet, potentiam honorem divitiarum gloriam dignitatem à populo accipit, plebs accepta referat necesse est. Regem plebs constituit, eundem & destituere potest.* He practised this about the middle of the eighth age, and for ought I know is the first Divine or Pope of *Rome*, either that said so, or writ so. Some charitably plead for him, and shew how averse he was from giving his consent: that at first he writ to dissuade them from wronging *Childerick*, who had his right from God, and write thus to wash his hands in innocency. I will not take paines to vindicate him, I leave that labour to the Popes parasites: yet it is worth our noting, that when *Pepin* and his complices were about this Treason, to rob *Childerick* of his Crowne, although all things were in him that might perswade to such a course, *Childerick* being but a *weake King*, a silly man, drowned and buried in ease and pleasures; childlesse, nor any neare to him: yet at this time, notwithstanding of all those circumstances, the like whereof never I thinke occurred before, so odious a crime it was to depose and set a King by his Throne, though also all *France* had almost conspired with him; yet fearing that the whole Christian world would cry sie upon them for such an impiety, they had recourse to the Pope, that by a specious shew of his Holinesse, and the authority of that holy Church, this great impiety and treason might be countenanced and goe current. This president was made a leading case in after ages, both for Popish and popular usurpation to intrude, nay, to invade upon the Sacred Right of Sacred Kings. Nay, our *Puritans* have from hence learned to colour and lustre their ugly Treasons and Seditious with the cloake of Religion and Righteousnesse.

With the intimating of another opinion of some who make Regall power resident in the people, and from thence derived to the King, I will close this chapter. Some doe hold, that all Sovereigne power is primarily and naturally in the (*universitate civium*) multitude, from it derived to the King immediately, and mediarely from God. Who intending the good peace and safety of mankind, which cannot be obtained without preservation of order, hath commanded, and by an inviolable ordinance and institution, appointed all to submit and subject themselves to the lawes of Society, not onely for wrath, but for conscience sake: not onely whilest they enjoy peace, plenty, justice, and protection by the benefit of Governours, but also whilest they doe suffer under some inconveniencies or accidentall abuses. The reason of which Obligation they make to be this, because we cannot enjoy nor reape the sweet fruits of established government, unlesse by compact we submit our selves to some possible and accidentall inconveniencies,

who have authoritie over him to dethrone him. And this is done by the Pope not properly but improperly, not effectivly but consecutively. The like he subjoynes concerning the Emperours power over the Pope; that if the Pope abuse the power he hath, to the disturbance and hurt of the civill State, the Emperour may forfeit his state, confiscate his goods, and so indirectly make, move and force those have power above the Pope, which in their opinion is the whole Church, or the Representative which is an œcumenicall counsell, to depose the Pope, and institute another. To these I might adde *Gerson* and others, I referre you to *Gerson*s considerations, and amongst these that you will reade the seventh.

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The other reason is, because some too charitably, and to the prejudice of veritie, interpret the Authours above cited and their kinsmen.

If any man will take and hold them to the better sense, I will not be contentious, though I professe I cannot see it, yet will it appeare otherwise that those are not the tenets of the Reformed, Catholique Church, but the fopperie of Poperie. See *Thomas Aquinas* 1. de regim. princ. c. 6. where he saith, *Si ad jus multitudinis pertineat sibi providere de Rege, non injustè ab eadem Rex institutus potest destitui, si potestate regni tyrannicè abutatur*: in which passage you have, that people may make Kings, unmake them, in case of tyrannie. This Book is suspected and for many just and pregnant reasons not to be *Thomas Aquinas*s, and therefore I referre you to the genuine *Thomas*, 1. 2. q. 90. art. 3. q. 90. art. 3. & q. 97. art. 3. & 22. q. 10. art. 10. And if I be mistaken of his sepe, blame one of his acutest scholars who averres it; *Suarez* l. 3. defens. orth. fid. adv. Sect. Anglia, c. 2. And long before *Thomas Aquinas* pope *Zachary* taught the French this Doctrine, as you may reade *Avent.* l. 3. *Annal.* *Boiaria.* *Princeps*, saith

he, *Populo cuius beneficio possidet, obnoxius est: Quæcunque n. habet, potentiam honorem divitiarum gloriam dignitatem à populo accipit, plebi accepta referat necesse est. Regem plebs constituit, eundem & destituere potest.* He practised this about the middle of the eighth age, and for ought I know is the first Divine or Pope of *Rome*, either that said so, or writ so. Some charitably plead for him, and shew how averse he was from giving his consent: that at first he writ to dissuade them from wronging *Childerick*, who had his right from God, and write thus to wash his hands in-innocency. I will not take paines to vindicate him, I leave that labour to the Popes parasites: yet it is worth our noting, that when *Pepin* and his accomplices were about this Treason, to rob *Childerick* of his Crowne, although all things were in him that might perswade to such a course, *Childerick* being but a *weake King*, a silly man, drowned and buried in ease and pleasures; childlesse, nor any neare to him: yet at this time, notwithstanding of all those circumstances, the like whereof never I thinke occurred before, so odious a crime it was to depose and set a King by his Throne, though also all *France* had almost conspired with him; yet fearing that the whole Christian world would cry sie upon them for such an impiety, they had recourse to the Pope, that by a specious shew of his Holinesse, and the authority of that holy Church, this great impiety and treason might be countenanced and goe current. This president was made a leading case in after ages, both for Popish and popular usurpation to intrude, nay, to invade upon the Sacred Right of Sacred Kings. Nay, our *Puritans* have from hence learned to colour and lustre their ugly Treasons and Seditious with the cloake of Religion and Righteousnesse.

With the intimating of another opinion of some who make Regall power resident in the people, and from thence derived to the King, I will close this chapter. Some doe hold, that all Sovereigne power is primarily and naturally in the (*universitate civium*) multitude, from it derived to the King immediately, and mediately from God. Who intending the good peace and safety of mankind, which cannot be obtained without preservation of order, hath commanded, and by an inviolable ordinance and institution, appointed all to submit and subject themselves to the lawes of Society, not onely for wrath, but for conscience sake: not onely whilst they enjoy peace, plenty, justice, and protection by the benefit of Governours, but also whilst they doe suffer under some inconveniencies or accidentall abuses. The reason of which Obligation they make to be this, because we cannot enjoy nor reape the sweet fruits of established government, unlesse by compact we submit our selves to some possible and accidentall inconveniencies,



veniences, from which grounds they extract these consequents and consequences.

1. First, that after a people have by contract, compact, or covenant divested themselves of that power which was primarily and natively in them, they cannot without manifest violation and breach of inviolable divine ordinance, and without breach of publique faith, resume that authority which they have placed in a King; that being united in one, it may be enabled sufficiently to protect all, and to exert and exercise all necessary acts of government.

2. The second is, that it were high sinne to trench upon Sovereigne authority, to rob it of its essentials and native constitutions.

3. Thirdly, this ordinance of God is not *alibi* but *ubique*, not without just and urgent reasons.

1. First, for if that the primary and native power which is in all and every one, were not united entirely and sovereignly in one, it could not have strength enough to protect all and every one, and to doe all acts and parts of necessary government.

2. Next, this ordinance of God is necessary to prevent those fatall and too too ordinary divisions, which attend multitudes, or many endued with equall power; where almost every one, upon *reall* or *fancied injuries*, undertaketh to right himselfe. The Authors of this opinion adde, That although before *positive constitution* this is not absolutely unjust, yet reason informeth us, that it must be fit by some condition and agreement to part *with this native right entirely*, for a greater good which will ensue; and to prevent greater evils, which without this cannot be avoided: and to re-straine our selves from being our owne Judges.

3. Thirdly, that either to resume any part of this power of which the people have *totally* divested themselves, or to entrench, usurpe upon, or limit it, contrary to its nature; is not onely to *disable Sovereignty* from government and protection, but also to *loosen the sinewes of all society*, no lesse then of Government, by receding from that compact which subtle discontented and disaffected men, for their owne private ends, perswade others they might have made more to their owne advantage.

I was sometime in love with this opinion, nor doe I much condemne it, for it enableth Sovereigne authority of a King with an entire and sufficient power: it maketh the Person and Office of the King sacred and inviolable: it determineth that it is sacriledge to denude or divest the King of any part of sacred Royalty, and that the attempt or practise of any in this kinde is a bad president, nay, a warrant for the violation of all contracts howsoever just;

just, upon any pretence whatsoever advantagious; it reserveth Kings to the Tribunal of God onely; it preventeth *by the law of nature the appointment of God*, all seditions and treasons, declaring *vim civium in Regem semper injustam*; all opposition by force, resisting of Kings by armes, whether in a *defensive or offensive way* to be against God and unlawfull.

How faire soever this opinion be, yet I dare not to averre it, nor maintain it: for I can never see where holy Scripture, or reverend and pious Antiquitie hath seated this Sovereignty in the multitude, or *universitate civium*, originally or radically, *tanquam in subjecto primo*, as in its first subject: Scripture and Fathers speak it clearely, frequently, that Sovereignty referres to God, as to its immediate Authour and Donor; but that it is *underivedly, primarily, and natively* in the Communitie, from thence transferred to the Prince, *Nemo quidem Lucinianum*, not one syllable. I wish from Scripture or Fathers they would make it appeare that after the Peoples constitution, there is a supervenient accessory ordinance to secure the Prince his person and function. I leave this and come to prove by Scripture.

## CHAP. II.

*That God is the immediate Authour of Sovereignty in the King, and that he is no creature of the Peoples making.*

WHEN we say that Kings are constituted immediately by God, and that Sovereignty is by immediate donation and collation from God, and not from the People, conceive us not to meane so grossly, that this is by any *speciall ordinance sent from Heaven by the Ministry of Angels or Prophets*. The Observatour if he conceive there is no other way but this, whereby the *originall of Royaltie* may be referred to God as the immediate Donor, we will grant that there were but some few such, as *Moses, Saul, David, &c.* But if he know not that some thing may immediately proceed from God, and be his proper worke, without a revelation or manifestation extraordinary from Heaven, he is as empty a Divine, as I feare in the end hee'll prove a politician. I hope he will grant, that howsoever the designation of a person to, consecration for a sacred function be by

the Church and man, yet the power of preaching, administering the Sacraments, binding and loosing of sinnes is immediately from Christ. To say this power were derived from any other is not onely unfound, but blasphemous. This power in its nature is *divine, spiritvall, and supernaturall*; and consequently cannot be but from such an efficient. The designation of the person to an holy function is from man or men, but the collation of the power is immediately from God and Christ, and yet this is not by any *speciall ordinance sent from Heaven by the Ministry of Angels and Prophets*.

That the Apostles are of God and Christ's immediate constitution, none doth deny. That *Matthias* was one who will controvert? That he was designed by men is cleare, *Acts 1*. Two were set apart, the decision was by lots, and yet I pray you, was not *Matthias* an Apostle by immediate constitution from Christ? But where reade you, where finde you any *speciall ordinance sent from Heaven by the Ministry of Angels or Prophets*?

To come to naturall things, If the Observatour believe with the most part of Divines, that the soule of man is by creation and infusion, not by propagation and traduction, although man and nature begetteth the bodie, disposeth and prepareth it as a fit matter to be conjoynd with the soule, that the father may well be said to have begotten the son, yet will he acknowledge, that the soule is immediately from God, and believe it to be so without any *speciall ordinance sent from Heaven*.

It were good for our Aduersaries to consider, that as the schools (see *Iac. Almayn de suprema potestate temporali quæst. 2. c. 1. & alibi*. See *Gerson, Ioannes Parisensis*, and others; and see *Saint Austin, in re*, in effect saying the same, although not in schoole termes, in many places, as namely *de corrupt. & grat. c. 14. De Civit. Dei. l. 4. c. 33. & l. 5. c. 21. & passim*. and to the very same purpose, see *Snarez lib. 3. contr. Angl. Sect. err. c. 2*. Although in his application he erreth fowly) do teach us, A thing may be said to be immediately from God three wayes.

1. The first is, when it is to *soly from God*, as it is from no other, and presupposeth no thing ordinary, humane, or created, previous or antecedent before the obtaining of it. Such was the power *Moses* and *Ioshua*, *Saul*, and *David* had. Such were the Apostles, all of them were by God and Christ immediately instituted, constituted, designed to, and invested with power from above.

2. The second way, that any thing is said to be immediately from God is, when the collation of the power, and investing of the person in, and with such power, is from God as the immediate *Author* and *Donor*, although there be presupposed or interposed *aliquid signum creatum*, some previous

or antecedent act humane or created. The power Apostolicall in *Matthias*, and appointing him to be an Apostle was immediately from Christ, although some humane acts did preceed, and were interposed before his constitution, as that the Apostles put two apart, and did cast lots. Neither of these two acts severally, nor both jointly had either virtually or formally in them, that efficacie or efficiencie to collate upon him, the Apostolicall power and preeminence. A world of instances may be made in this kinde. A man baptized, by Baptisme, obtaineth remission of sinnes, and the grace of Regeneration; yet none is so weake as to say, that the *immersion in, or asperision of water* effecteth or producess these excellent effects of Remission of sinnes and Regeneration. *Lewis* the twelfth King of *France*, authorised the Parliament of *Paris*, when one of their number died or was removed, to make choise of another in his place: yet none will deny, that the authoritie and power of a Judge and Senator is immediately collated upon the person chosen by and from the King of *France*. A King giveth to a well-deserving servant the favour to name any man fitted for honour to be a Lord, Baron, or Earle, after the servant to whom the trust is committed hath designed the person or man, he is made a Lord, Baron, or Earle. Who is so stupid to averre that the honour of a Lord, Baron, or Earle is from the servant, a fellow-subject immediately? and who dare to deny the honour is from the King, the fountain of all honour? this is easily discerned, for when the act interposed and presupposed to the production and working of such an effect, is such that of *its own nature it hath no natural contingencie with the effect produced, but what it hath by some resemblance or constitution*. We must run to an higher and more eminent Cause of such a worke and effect; of which see more, *infra* c. 13. where we prove that the interposing of an humane act in the constitution of a King, as election, succession, or conquest, impedeth not the constitution and making of a King to be immediately from God.

3. The third way is, when *titulo creato mediante*, a mans right to any thing he hath power of by *some ordinary humane right or title intervening*, by which he is invested with a just and full right to that is collated upon him, and the *approbation or confirmation of this right is immediately from God*: so that the possessor in possessing what he hath just right, recognosceth or acknowledgeth *in the right of propriatie* no superiour but Almighty God.

Now to apply this, for the first way, we maintain not that Sovereigntie is in a King immediately from God, by extraordinary revelation, without any humane act or signe created intervening. This was peculiar onely to some few.

The second way, we hold that all Kings really so, are immediately from God : for although some *Signum creatum*, some humane and created act, as *election, succession, conquest*, or what else in that kind is imaginable and possible interveneth, to the designation of the person, yet the *reall constitution, the collation of Sovereignty and Royalty* is immediately from God, for the act or condition presupposed or interposed containeth not in it that power to collate Royall and Sovereigne power : onely by Gods appointment it is inseparably joyned with it, or infallibly followeth after it, so that it referreth to God as the *proper donor and immediate author*. As in Baptisme, if there be nothing repugnant in the Suscipient, the baptized hath from God immediately remission of sinnes, and grace of regeneration. Or as in Sacred Orders, the designation of the person is from men and an humane act ; but the endowment with supernaturall power to act, doe, and exercise supernaturall acts, is immediately from God and Christ. *Matthias* his person was designed by the Apostles, but Christ onely made him truly and really an Apostle. Just so in the Constitution of Kings *election, succession, conquest*, or what else is onely *Potestas designativa persona* ; but the power of Royalty and Sovereignty is primarily, formally, and immediately from God.

That we may conceive things aright in this case, we must distinguish three things. 1. First, *The Sovereignty or Royall Power*, which is *forma quadam*, the specifick and formall essence constitutive of a King. 2. Next, *The Person* of the King, which is *Subiectum*, the seat or that wherein this Sovereignty is inherent. 3. Thirdly, *The conjunction of the Sovereignty with the Person*, or the application of Royall Power and Sovereignty to the Person.

The first, that is, Regall Power and Sovereignty is immediately from God and Christ.

The second, that is, the individuall Person taken absolutely in its specifick and individuall essence and existence, is from its naturall causes constituent : But *qua talis*, considered as a King and such a one, that is as Supream and Sovereigne, the deputation or designation of such an individuall person for such a power, is by election, succession, conquest, or any other lawfull way by which God in his providence doth manifest it.

The third, that is, the joyning of the Authority to the Person, is immediately from God and Christ. Election, Succession, or Conquest, may be said in some sense *remotely and improperly* to make or constitute a King, although they are not the *proper efficient and constituent cause* of that power.



To say in the third sense, that Sovereignty in the King is immediately from God by approbation or confirmation onely, it is too flat an expression, and doth not sort well with the magnifick expressions of Holy Scripture: as, *By me Kings reigne*. Prov. 8. 15. *The Powers that are, are ordained of God*, Rom. 13. 2. *I have said ye are Gods*. Psal. 82. 8. *All Power is given from above*. John 19. *God hath spoken it once, twice have I heard it, all power belongeth unto the Lord*. Psal. 62. 11. according to this opinion, the sense of those and other such places must be, Kings have their power from below, from the people, by contract are ordained of men, and onely established by God, and consequently we must change the phrase, The people have said you are Gods, your power is from below: and Saint Paul's ordained of God, is no better then confirmed or approved of God. Nor is the title and right of a King better, as related to God, then the title of what any man possesseth *titulo humano orato*, by humane right; by contract, or otherwise in rents, monies, revenues, or what else is ordinary in the commerce and society civill of men.

In briebe, our sense is, *The Royall Power and Sovereignty of the King is from God primarily, formally, immediately; The designation or deputiation of the Person*, is by election, succession, conquest, &c. as *Matthias* was designed by the Apostles setting of him apart, and the falling of the lot upon him, but the Apostolicall power and preeminence was immediately and solly from Christ. The power of the High-priest-hood in *Zadok* was from God; The designation of the Person was from *Salomon*, a pregnant prooffe and illustration of this appeareth in *Jephthah*, Judg. 4. 5, 6, 7. The Elders of *Gilead*, and people by Covenant and contract bring him home, agree he be Judge and Governour: and yet notwithstanding 1 Sam. 12. 11. The sending of *Jephthah* is no lesse given to God solly, then the immediate and extraordinary sending of *Jerubbaal*, *Bedan*, and *Samuel*. A father begetteth the child, but God infuseth the soule. A woman by her choice and consent designeth her husband, but the maritall power and dominion is onely from God; for how can she conferre or transerre that power which was never fixed in her, nay by God and nature she is to be ruled by her husband. It is more then than manifest that an humane act may designe the person of a King, and that the power is conferred by God alone.

There is in true judgement a maine difference betwixt *Potestas deputativa* & *designativa persona Regis*, and *Potestas collativa potestatis Regis* betwixt *applicativum persone ad auctoritatem* & *potestatem*, and *applicativum auctoritatis ad personam Regis*. The first may be done by an humane act, as a mans hand may apply a faggot to the fire; but the other, in our case,

case, is proper to God, as the fire onely can make the faggot burne. It appeareth then clearly that power may and doth come from God alone, and immediately without *extraordinary revelation by the voyce of God, of Angel, or Prophet.*

The sense and termes of our tenet thus cleared, we come in the next place to our proofes, from the Holy Scriptures in the first place. God in Scripture, by frequent, pregnant, and multivariuous expressions, hath so vindicated to himselfe the making and constituting of Kings, that he declareth fully that he will have none to share with him in this worke, for he hath told us, that Kings and their Sovereignty are by God, of God, from God: that they are Gods: *The children of the most High: His servants: His Ministers: His publick Ministers and Deputies* *κεντροποι δακρυοι*. That their Throne, their Crowne, their Sword, their Scepter, their Judgement are Gods, &c. and hath expressed it in *abstracto*, abstractly, of their Royalty, their Power; and in *concreto* of themselves with a connotation of their persons; to intimate, that they, and all in them, their power, their function, their charge, their person, are of divine extract; a constitution of the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; and consequently to teach us, that the Sovereigne Authority of the King, and the Person of the King, both of them are sacred, inviolable: God in his omniscience and præsience did foresee, that the sonnes of Adam would be like to their father in transgression, that nothing will content them but to be like God; and before they faile, they will juttle him out of his right, runne upon the guiltinesse of *divine usurpation*, challenging to themselves the prerogative of the Almighty, Pope and people, Antichrist-like, exalting themselves above all that is called God. The Jesuite this day pleadeth for the Pope, the Puritane for the People, that he or they have underived Majestie by which they may en-throne or dethrone, make or unmake Kings at their pleasure.

We begin first with the Law. In which as God by himselfe prescribed the essentials, substantialls, and ceremonials of piety and his worship; gave order for justice and piety: so he commanded the appointing and constituting of the King, to be reserved as a privileged case, a proper prerogative for himselfe: *Dent. 17. 14, 15, &c. When thou shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the Nations about me, Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall chuse.* A Law sufficient to prove our Conclusion, that the King and His Power are originally and immediately from God, dependent from him alone, and independent from all others. The Power and Sovereignty is expressed in the words, *Set over thee*: This *Thee* is collective, and includeth all and every one; so Scripture knew not this

this new state-devised principle, That *Rex est singulis major, universis minor*, above every one severally, but subordinate, to all jointly. The person is expressed in concreto, in the words, *Whom the Lord thy God shall chuse*. Neither is it to be slightly passed by, that so peremptorily, emphatically, and authoritatively it is right-downe said, Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, &c. Which peremptory precepts dischargeth the people all and every one, diffusively, collectively, representatively, or in what capacity else is imaginable in them, to intend, attempt, or practise the appointing of a King, but to leave it entirely and totally to Almighty God.

Here we must take off some shifts which Jesuites, Puritanes, and others make to elude this and other texts of this kind. 1. The first is, *That this was a privileged case of the Jewish King*: So Suarez, lib. 3. c. 2. defens. orthod. fid. cont. Sect. Angl. So Soto, l. 4. de Instit. q. 2. art. 1. So Navarrus, cap. Novis. Notab. 3. num. 33. & 147. and many more, as Abulenſis and others: The Sectarie averreth the same. Both of them strengthen their argument by these maxims: *Exempla specialia non valent ad inferendum regulam universalem: imo solent esse exceptiones à Regula*. To the same purpose they adduce that Maxime of the Jurists: *Valet argumentum à specialis ad inferendam regulam universalem: or, Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*. The summe and sense is, that extraordinary, singular, speciall, and privileged cases, are not firme and valid antecedents to inferre a generall, ordinary, and ruled case: that if we cannot make it appeare that all Kings are from God by immediate constitution, the privileged case of the Jewes will inferre no necessary conclusion. Suarez in the place above cited goeth a little further, affirming that God amongst the Jewes did reserve as peculiar to himselfe the election onely of the King, but that His constitution or the collation of Royall power was from the people properly, immediately: and that because the words runne in the text, *Deut. 17. 14, 15.* that the people shall set him King over them, and him onely whom the Lord thy God shall chuse. Bellarmine saith just the same.

To remove this first shift, we deny both the one and the other. We deny first, that it was a proper case for the Jewes to have their Kings immediately constituted and appointed by God. The Scripture is for us, that all Kings, all Sovereigne power, are immediately from God.

Prov. 8. 15. *By me Kings reigne*, saith a King, and the wisest of Kings, and a King who had good reason to say so; for if the people had right to constitute or make a King, it had not beene King Salomon, but King Adonijah. Adonijah durst say to King Salomon's mother, *Thou knowest that the Kingdome was mine, and that all Israel set their faces on me that I should reigne*.

*reigne*: 1 King. 3. 15. *Salomon* saith not of himselfe singularly, That he reigned by God, but indefinitely universally, *By me Kings*, that is, all Kings reigne. The first two words *Per me*, *By me*, containe in them the donor, the author, the efficient, the constituent of Kings and Sovereignty. Possibly you will say, this *By me*, is spoken of wisdom, it is true; but that wisdom is to be taken *σοφικῶς*, not for an accident or quality, but for some thing subsistent personally. And this *Salomon's* *חֲכֹמָאֵךְ* *Chochmach*, in the sense of the most learned both ancient and moderne, is Saint *John's*, *ἀγ. 3.*: *Joh. 1. 1.* Saint *John's* Word, Christ the sonne of God, *the brightness of his glory, and the expresse image of his person*: Heb. 1. 2. The text demonstrateth it: for this wisdom by which Kings reigne, is that wisdom *Ἦν ὁδὸς ἀληθὴς αἰὲ ἀπαῖς*, (*ἀληθὴς* is the right reading, for the originall word is *קָנָן* *Kanan* possessed; nor will the Greek reading *ἀληθὴς* bring home the *Arrians* conclusion) which the Lord possessed in the beginning of his way, before his workes of old: *v. 22.* *Which was set up from everlasting, from the beginning or ever the earth was*: *v. 3.* The wisdom by which Kings reigne, is the same that was created of all things. Kings are from God the Father, but by the Sonne; as from the Father, by the Sonne, all spirituall blessings in heavenly things come to us, so the greatest of temporall blessings, By him we have Kings, the best blessing here, for without them neither godlinesse nor honesty: 1 *Tim. 2. 2.* This *Per* is Christ's preposition. It is worth your notice taking, that *Salomon* saith not, By the people Kings reigne; had it beene so, you know who had beene King and not *Salomon*: Nor he saith not, By the High-priest Kings reigne: you know he was engaged in *Adonijah's* treason, no: He saith not, By *Israel*, nor by *Abiathar*, nor by *Zadok*, nor by *David*, nor by *Nathan* Kings reigne: But there is a *Per me* which is exclusive of all, and to whom onely it is proper and peculiar, to make Kings, and to make Kings reigne. *Salomon* excludes *Pope* and *People*, *Sate* and *Presbytery*. Hee vindicates the creation of Kings no lesse to Christ then the creation of things. This *Per me*, *by me*, imparts not a naked permission, as if Kings by importunity of people were given way too, as some blasphemous mouthes and pens have said and written: and that Monarchie of all governments is the least acceptable to God, and to people most inconvenient. Ignorants, or malicious, or both they are, who dare to say so. Monarchie was the first government God ordained in the world, and is yet founded in *paternos*. Why, if it be otherwise, was it promised to *Abraham*, as the highest pitch and reach of temporall blessings, that Kings should come of him? Why, doth God *Ezech. 16.* upbraiding the multitude of the people, reckon in the last place, as the highest

Highest of his favours temporall. That they prospered into a Kingdome? Why doth Saint *Peter* urge obedience to the King, because that is the will of God? 2. *Pet.* 11, 15. Why doth Saint *Paul* say, that he is *tibi in bonum*, for thy good, and for my good, and for the good of all. Saint *Paulus* *ἐξουία* Higher power, is nothing else but Saint *Peters* *Benedictus* *ἐξουία*, the King that is Supream. So *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, *Haymo*, and others interpret it. and the government then when Saint *Paul* writ that Epistle was Monarchicall. They be a cursed brood, who do maintaine, that this *per me Reges regnant*, This by mee Kings reigne, is a *per me iratum*, by mee in anger to punish a stiffe-necked and rebellious people. The Queene of *Sheba* knew it was *per me propitium*, By mee in mercy, and was better taught and sounder in this point of divinity, then the great *Gamaliels* amongst our Sectaries, for she saith to *Salomon*: *Because the Lord thy God, Loved Israel to establish them for ever, therefore made he the King over them to doe judgement and justice.* 1. *Chron.* 9, 8. This *per me* Implyeth then, that they are of Gods making, and in mercy Kings are given to us. This *per me*, by mee Implyeth, Kings are Gods and Christs derivatives, and that God and Christ are their *Institutors*, from God the father, by the sonne their Commission, their power, their Sovereignty, for this cause Saint *Paul* calleth them *Δικτατοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Which word is very pregnant and signifieth an ordinance by high authority not revokable, not repealable. In which sence it is usually read in classicall authors sacred and prophane. So *Sinesius* useth the word in *Epist. ad Theoph.* So *Aristotle* in his problems. 5. 28. 30. *Lucilius* *epigr.* 2. So *Appian.* in 2. and *Plutarch* in *Marcello* useth *Δικτατοὶ τοῦ ἀρχέοντος*, for established decrees of Sovereignty. The word from which it is derived is so used, *Act.* 18. *Stephanus* a Learned Græcian is of that mind that in this very place, *Rom.* 13. 2. it signifieth so much.

The Emphasis of this *per me* is not yet fully explained. That wonder of piety, and Learning Doctor *Andrewes* Late Bishop of *Winchester*, hath well observed, that the Originall is *Bi, in me*: and yet beareth well, *In me*, and *per me*: the preposition *Bi* *Beth* signifying both: So that the meaning is, Kings are first in him, and so come forth from him, as that they are in him. He parallels it a little with that passage in the Gospell, *My father in mee, and I in him*. Christ in them as his deputies: They in Christ as their author and authoriser, he by their persons, they by his power.

The other two words of the text, *Kings Reigne*, containe in them the Chartour, the donation. *Kings*, is in the number of many, in the plural number. *Salomon*, although the wisest of men and Kings, and King of *Israel*



know not this time what our new Doctors know, that it was a privileged case, for the Kings of *Israel* to Reigne by Immediate constitution or election from God, from Christ. *Salomon* speaks it indefinitely. In the Schooles it is a currant maxime, that, *Indefinita propositio aequipollet universalis*, an indefinite proposition is equivalent to an universal, except they can shew where in holy writ it is limited, it is restrained. It lieth on them to prove it, for *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, He who affirms is bound to prove it: Logicke and Law both of them require it. The *Jurist* saith, *Ubi Lex non distinguit, nemo distinguere debet*: where the Law it selfe distinguisheth not, we are not to distinguish. *Salomon* then saith universally, of all Kings, *By mee Kings Reigne*: That is, that their right, their power, their Sovereignty is immediately from God by Christ.

I am glad that in this text we met with *Reges, Kings, in terminis terminantibus*, in expresse termes: Nor is it to be slightly passed by, that you have it, in *concreto*, the King with his Sovereignty: He saith not, *Per me Regia potestas*, by me Royalty Sovereignty, but *Per me Reges*, by me Kings, to intimate that *Royalty is sacred and the person invested with this Royalty too*. *Salomon* for all his wisdom reached not the Subtilty of this age to distinguish betwixt the King, His personall will and condition, and Royall power, abstractly considered in it selfe. If you will have it plainly. These Rab- bies have found out a distinction, with which the spirit of God was not ac- quainted.

The word *Regnant, They raigne*, hath it's owne force, that not only their Commission is by Immediate derivation from God, and so they may say, *He is it that hath made us, and not we our selves: Gratia Dei sumus quod sumus*, By Gods grace we are what we are, and so justly do write them- selves, every one of them. *King by the Grace of God*, and so their title is rightly from God, and their actuall reigning is of him too. They are not only *Reges* Kings by him *in actu signato*, as invested with this power from above, but they Raigne by him *in actu exercito*, their commands are by him, The actuall exercise of their power is to be considered, as Gods power ex- erted by them His deputies. If you please to take it larger yet: *To regnare in fieri, in facto, in conservari*, To reigne, to have right to it, by Institution and constitution, to exercise this power by Commission, to have it longer or shorter time, all is *Per me, By mee, and no other: Deus & auferit Regna*, He giveth and taketh away Crownes at his pleasure. The Law teacheth us, *eiusdem est destituere, eamque & instituere*, none can unmake a King, but he onely who can make him. Let the Law plead for it selfe, I stand not for it, Sure I am it is good divinity. In *Job*, c. 26. 7. We read with Saint Hiero-

rome, (and that without wronging the Originall in the sense) *Regis collocat in Solio in perpetuum, He placeth Kings in the Throne for ever.* And againe, c. 13. 18. *Solvit baltheum Regum.* He taketh them from their throne: or as it is *Psal. 89. 44. He casteth downe their Crowne to the ground.* The result of all is, what can you conceive of a King, in *abstracto* or *concreto*, In his person, or in his Sovereignty, of his power habituall or actuall, Of his Right, or the exercise of it, Of his making, His continuing, His unkinging, all is *per mo*, from God Immediately by Christ: and this in *Salomons* expression is verified of all Kings whatsoever.

A further prooffe both to fortifie what is said, and to bring home our maine conclusion, we adduce from *Rom. 13. 1. αὐτὸν θεὸν, ὁ ὢν τὸ θεοῦ τοῦ κρῖναι, ἔστιν.* For the powers that be are ordained of God. *Beza* rendreth the words: *Quaecumq; autem sunt potestates sunt a Deo ordinate.* The old Interpreter nearer to the Originall turneth it thus: *Quae autem sunt a Deo ordinate.* I am very inclinable to thinke that those words relate onely, at least principally, to Sovereignty, and that Monarchicall. I do not deny but that by analogie and accommodation they may be accomodated to all power whatsoever. The reasons enforcing mee are; First, because they are *ἡγεμονίαι* exprestly called *ἐξουία ὑψηλὰ*, High or eminent powers. Secondly, Next if wee will admit Saint *Peter* to Interpret Saint *Paul*, wee will find Saint *Paul* *ἐξουία, ὑψηλὰ*, are Saint *Peters* *βασιλεῖς ὑψηλότες*: The Kings that are Supream, 1. *Pet. ii. 13. 3.* Thirdly the Apostle Saint *Paul* adding, *Ordained of God, or under God*, can not so properly be understood of Subordinate power, for that is not by Immediate derivation from God, but immediately from the higher power, or the King that is Supream, and mediately from God: which made Saint *Peter* call them *ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, Governours, and such as are sent by the King who is Supream.* 1. *Pet. II 14.* Thirdly, many Learned Interpreters conceive the words so, as Saint *Chrysostome*, *Ambrosius*, or *Hilarium Diaconus*, or whom else you will under the name of *Ambrosius*, *Haymo*, and others &c. Fourthly, and lastly, when Saint *Paul* writ this Epistle, the government at *Rome* was Monarchicall, *Nero* then reigned.

This thus established, Let us observe in the next place, that the Apostle speaketh *Universally* that all Supream Monarchicall and Royall power is ordained of God immediately. *Beza* sticks not to render the words into a proposition universall affirmative. *Quaecumq; autem sunt potestates, sunt a Deo ordinate.* The Apostles owne expression is full enough, pregnant enough. The relative *a*, must in good grammar be referred to the antecedent *ἐξουία ὑψηλὰ*: joyne the words cited with the words immediately preceding,

preceding, *ὃς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἐξουσία αἰ μὴ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ*, for there is no power but of God: and then you shall have this conclusion by undeniable consequence, naturally resulting from the premises, *There is no Supreme or Royall power but from God alone*: and consequently he is the sole donor, and Sovereignty relates to him as to its immediate author. Do not our Sectaries reason thus from the passage, *Gal. 2. 16. οἰσθίτες ἵνα ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀνθρώπου ἐξ ἔργων ᾖ, καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ πίστεως ἰσθῆς*, *Knowing that a man is not justified by workes, but by faith alone*; that this *καὶ μὴ*, is the equivalent of an *exclusive*: and so conclude, that we are justified by faith alone? Why then will they refuse that in our passage, *αἰ μὴ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ*, is a *perfect exclusive*, and is *tant'a mount*, as that no Supreme power is by man or other meanes, but from God alone. If they shake the force of this argument, their strong hold for justification is overthrowne. We observed before how that in the next verse, those higher powers are called *ὑποτάγη τῷ Θεῷ*, the established unrepalable ordinance of God. And so presumptuous are we now a dayes, as to repeale Gods most irrevocable decrees. No wonder we are so insolent, seeing we presume to mend the *Creed and Magnificat*.

Now joyne Saint Paul and Salomon together, and you have that Sovereigne power, is, *ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, ὑπὸ Θεῷ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ Θεῷ*, and *τῷ Θεῷ*; it is by God, from God, under God, and God's appointment irrevocable, ordinance irrepalable. The three last are the Apostles; the first is Salomon, for the *Sep-tuagint* readeth the words, *ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύομεν*. This variety and plurality of expressions how Sovereignty is of God and God's, the Spirit of God hath used that none presume sacrilegiously to usurpe upon God his Prerogative, who hath reserved this peculiarly for himselfe, that all Kings upon earth should be his immediate creatures, and deputies by his owne letters patent authorized.

Our adversaries have beene much puzzled with this text, if they give us a new Bible, it is like enough either this text will be left out, or we will have a glosse upon it to destroy the originall text. It hath so tortured them, that I cannot tell you how many wayes they have coyned to themselves to elude it. I have observed five maine ones, which I purpose by Gods grace to examine and refute, *quest. 5.* now I content my selfe to take off one, in which they please themselves much. They say, the Apostle speaketh *abstractly*, not *concretly* of the power it selfe, nor of the person clothed and invested with the power; it is an ignorant shift. *Barclay* in his booke *De Regno*, (who hath deserved well of all Christian Monarchs) hath learnedly and truly observed, That Saint Paul writing to the *Romans*, did keepe the *Roman* usuall *distinction* in this, with whom it was customeable and ordinary by

*Potestates,*

*Potestates, powers in the abstract*, to expresse the persons authorized with this power. He referres his Reader to classicall and good Authors, as to *Pliny, lib. 29. c. 4. Juvenal. Sat. in Clandio. c. 31. Modest. lib. 27. de Pignoris. Ulpian. lib. 17. SS. penult. de Edil. edict. Tertulian contr. gent.*

I content my selfe with the dialect of *Canaan* in Scripture; in which frequently expressions in the abstract, expresse existents in the concrete: *Col. 1. 16. By him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers.* By Thrones, Dominions, Principalities and Powers, uncontrovertedly Angels are meant; that the expressions are abstract is cleare as the Sun-shine. To say Angels were created *in abstracto*, is to send us to search after *Platonick Ideas*.

This instance it may be is too sublime, let us see then if we can hit upon one nearer us, and more fitting for the purpose in hand. I pray them to cast their eyes upon *Saint Peter, 2. Epist. 2. 10.* where giving a character of the man with whom we have to doe, he saith, *That they despise government, are presumptuous, selfe-willed, and not affraid to speake ill of dignities.* The fellow of this you have; *Jud. 8. These filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speake ill of dignities.* In which passages the words in *abstracto*, Government, Dominion, Dignities, without any doubt doe expresse the persons of Governours, Lords, and Kings. It is worth your notice taking, to consider how zealous *Saint Peter* and *Saint Jude* were for the honour and due of Sovereignty, the ray of divine Majestie upon earth, that they speake so passionately and bitterly against such as professed themselves Christians, and did speake evill of *Cajus, Caligula, Nero*, monsters of men? O with what a zeale would they be inflamed, if living now a-dayes they did see what we see, and heare what we heare; the pretended Levites expressing their zeale to God, Religion, Church and State, by railing against the Lords Anointed, the best of Kings in the world.

The Fathers doe use the word so too, *Saint Austin epist. 48. saith, Potestas humana saepe est divina potestati inimica*: humane power is too often, contrary to the power of God Almighty. The holy Father was not so bad a Divine, as to thinke that *Potestas in abstracto*, that Government which is Gods owne ordinance can be in opposition or enmity with God: *Saint Austin* then infallibly by the word *Potestas, power*, meant him or them who are authorized with power from above.

If this doth not content our adversaries, I would entreat them to looke upon *Saint Paul's* text, and I hope they will finde that *Saint Paul* meant by  
being

being subject to higher powers, to be subject to him who, is invested with the power. Doth not hee terme them *v. 3.* ἄρχοντες, *Rulers?* Higher powers, then, and Rulers are with Saint *Paul* equivalent termes. Doth he not after call them λειτουργοί, and διακονοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, the Ministers immediate, and peculiar servants of God *1. v. 6.* and even *Nero* himselfe is Gods Minister for thy good. Doth he not say *v. 4.* *That he beareth not the sword in vaine?* which is non-sense if you conceive it of Higher powers in abstracto. The like may be said of paying tribute, &c.

God did fore-see by his eternall omniscience how apt man was to coine distinctions to deceive himselfe, and to wrong Gods ordinance, that mercifully to us, he hath expressed in Scripture, that both Sovereignty and the person clothed with Sovereignty, are of him, by him, and from him immediately; and this, that both the one and the other may be revered by us as sacred and inviolable. The Apostle speaketh in abstracto, *Be subject to the Higher Powers: The Powers that are, are ordained of God. He that resisteth, &c.* Again, the Spirit of God by *Salomon* saith, *In concreto*, with the connotation of the Subject. *By me Kings reigns. I have said you are Gods, &c.* What shall we judge then of this new-coyned distinction, to make a difference betwixt the King and His Authority; betwixt His Personall will, and His Royall and authoritative will: to pursue His Person with a Cannon bullet at *Edge-hill*, and to preserve His Authority at *London*, or elsewhere. These figge-tree leaves will not cover our Rebellion and Treason in the day of our accounts before the Lord of Lords; and King of Kings. Remember his strait charge, *Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harme.*

### CHAP. III.

*The same truth is proved by more arguments from Holy Scripture.*

THE Scripture hath not delivered any truth more purposely, more apertly, more frequently then this. The Spirit of God knew well, that if the sacred Sovereignty of Kings be not preserved, Religion, Justice, and Peace cannot be maintained. This is the reason Saint *Paul* gives to perswade us to pray for Kings, *That we may leade a quiet and peaceable life in all*



all godlinesse and honesty: 1. Tim. 2. 1, 2. It is observable, that *Salomon*, *Prov.* 8. speaketh first of the establishment of Government, before hee speake of the workes of Creation: to intimate, it is better not to be at all, then to be without Government. For the same reason God fixed Government in the person of *Adam*, before *Eva* or any else came into the world; and how Government shall be, and we enjoy the happy fruits of it; it is not conceivabable, except we preserve to the King His sacred Sovereignty inviolably. This I say made God in Scripture *non obiter, raro, & accidenter*, not in a passing way, occasionally, or rarely, or accidentally, to command this duty of loyalty and obedience to Kings, sacred in their functions, in their persons. Almighty God hath in commanding this duty in holy Writ, kept the same course, he kept in setting downe essentials and fundamentals of faith and worship. If any be pleased to be at the paines to observe it, I doubt if they will finde any thing so peremptorily and frequently commanded, and with so much reason urged. The Lord knew how averse corrupt man is to give to the Lords Anointed his due, without the speciall grace of God, or an over-ruling strong providence people cannot be kept in subjection. *David* magnifieth it, as one of the highest and most powerfull of Gods blessings towards him, that he delivered him from the strivings of his people: *Psal.* 18. 43. and as ingenuously hee acknowledgeth, that it is God alone who subdueth his people under him: *Psal.* 144. 2. God accounteth Rebellion against them Rebellion against himselfe: and ordinarily in Scripture you have God and the King inseperably joyned, and the duties to both enjoyed, 1. *Pet.* 2. 17. *Feare God, honour the King*; *Prov.* 24. 21. *My sonne, feare thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.* This is purposely done, not onely to intimate the greatnesse of the sinne of disobedience, disloyalty, and rebellion, but also to expresse the neare alliance Kings have with God; and the strait conjunction betwixt them and God, that no thing intervenes to divide or sever them, *which God hath put together let none put asunder.*

We have proved that God in the Law hath reserved to himselfe as his owne right, the Constitution of Kings: we have proved sufficiently that this was not a priviledged case of Gods people under the Law, because *Salomon* indefinitely, and consequently universally averreth, That all Kings reigne by God in Christ. Because Saint *Paul* hath delivered the same truth, That there is no Supream power but from God alone, and so from him alone, that he admitteth no corrivall to share with him. Thus you have three arguments for our purpose. We come now to the fourth,

Which is this: Scripture right downe teacheth us that all Kings what-  
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soever have their free hold from Almighty God alone. Of Pharaoh King of Egypt it is said, *Exod. 9. 7. I have raised thee up. Elisha* from God designed, anointed, and constituted *Hazael* King over Syria, *2 Kings 8. 13.* Here you see that the Kings of Egypt and Syria are no lesse of Gods making than the Kings of Israel. Are not Pharaoh, Abimelech, Hiram, Hazael, Hadad, no lesse honoured with the compellation of Kings than David, Saul, or Ezekiah? Be what they will, Gods creatures they are, and of his making onely.

*Ier. 29. 9.* God doth honour *Nebuchadnezzar*, by naming him his servant: his servant, conceive it ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> by way of excellencie: the same compellation it is, which God giveth to David a king according to his own heart. *Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon my servant.*

If what we have said cannot suffice, let them turne over to *Isai. 45. 1. 2.* Thus saith the Lord to his Anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue Nations before him; and I will loose the loines of Kings, to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut, I will go before thee and make the crooked places straight, I will breake in pieces the gates of brasse, and cut asunder the barres of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darknesse and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel: a prooffeable enough to stop the devils mouth. What Cyrus was is well known, he hath *Iosiah's* honour, to be named well nigh an hundred yeares before he was borne, and named by his individuall name; he is dignified with the royall compellation of the Lords Anointed: his honour, his worke, and all is from God, and that immediately. How much might be said, if we pleased to insit to prove our point, but leaving this, I come to our fifth Argument, which is,

That in the Book of God we are told, *Dominus dat & auferet regna:* that there be no kingdome but of his giving, no kings but of his making, no king unking'd but by his doing. We ended our last Argument with Cyrus, we began the prooffe of this with him too, *Esr. 1. 2.* It is recorded by the holy Spirit, Thus saith Cyrus of Persia, the Lord of Heaven hath given me all the kingdomes of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at Ierusalem which is in Iudah. You read the same *2 Chron. 36. 22. 23.* I am very inclinable to believe that Cyrus knew this charge from the Prophecie of *Isai. 44. 28.* He is my shepheard and shall performe all my pleasure, even saying to Ierusalem, thou shalt be built, and to the Temple, thy foundation shall be laid. And again, *cap. 45. 13.* I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his wayes: he shall build my citie, and

*let go my captives, not for price nor reward, saith the Lord of Hosts. If this will not rectifie the perverse rebellious tenet of Puritane and Jesuite, I despaire of doing it. I know they will tell me, it is an extraordinary case; this is their ordinary poore shift that serveth them in many cases; if they would consider it aright, they might see how carefull God has been by extraordinary workes and manifestations, and reiterated precepts and practises ordinary, to right their extravagant and extraordinary tenets and humours. If they can be satisfied, we referre them to Dan. 2. 19, 20, 21. And Daniel will reach them in the judgement of God, that to give and remove Kings and Kingdomes is the sole and properly peculiat worke of God.*

When God had revealed to *Daniel Nebuchadnezzar's* dreame with the interpretation of it, he thanketh God, and saith, *vers. 20. Blessed be the Name of God for ever and ever, for wisdom and might are his, vers. 21. And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings.* Again, *vers. 27.* He saith, *Thou O King art a King of Kings, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, strength and glorie, vers. 28. & 21.* He ascribeth the setting up and removing of Kings no lesse to God, than Wisdom infinite, and Omnipotencie, which are divine Attributes incommunicable. And *vers. 37.* He vindicates this as proper and peculiar to the God of Heaven, that earth and earthly men can have no part in it. *Daniel in whom was the spirit of the holy Gods, Daniel whom no secrets troubled, Daniel in whom was wisdom like the wisdom of Gods,* reached not this high point to know that in the People was an *undervived Majestie*, to be derived to Kings in what proportion they please by a fiduciary trust. View the fourth Chapter of *Daniel's* Prophecie, and there you will finde it in foure-squared Letters; *Nebuchadnezzar* for a time is unkinged: how I pray you? *By the watcher, by the Holy One, one sent by him from Heaven, commanded by him to hew down the tree, to cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, scatter his fruit, vers. 13, 14.* And to what purpose is this? That *Nebuchadnezzar* and all living may know, that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men, *vers. 17.* All this is the decree of the most High, *vers. 24.* And *Nebuchadnezzar* was driven from men to live and eat with beasts, till he should know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, *vers. 25.* It was told to the proud King swelling in pride in his Palace, that the kingdom was departed from him, the messenger was a voyce from Heaven, *vers. 31.* After his repentance, and acknowledging this truth, that *Dominus dat & auferat regna;*

*regna*, that God giveth and taketh away Kingdoms, His Kingdome was established unto him, His Councillours and Lords sought unto him, and excellent Majestie was added unto him. Whosoever is not overruled with the spirit of errour, and readerhand considereth these passages aright, must confesse the truth we maintaine. God open our eyes to see it, and give us hearts to beleeve it, that Loyalty and Royalty may have their place and right.

The same truth is delivered to us againe *Dan. 5. 5.* A hand from heaven; (a miracle it is to confirme this truth) writeth upon the plaster of the wall, that *Belshazzar* the King and his Nobles may inquire after it. That *God had taken the Crowne from him*. He did not acknowledge that he did hold his Crowne of the King of Heaven, to this ingratitude, he added Sacriledge, and prophaned the Golden and Silver vessels of the Temple. For these sinnes His Crowne was taken from him. So horrible a sinn is Sacriledge, and in Kings especially, that it will throw them into contempt, cast their Crownes into the dust, and bring greater judgements in the world to come if they repent not. Nor can this repentance be found and saving without restitution. Heere that rule of the Holy Father holds good, *Non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum*. *Daniel* reading and Interpreting this miraculous writ, recalleth to *Belshazzars* memorie Gods dealing with his father, v. 18. *O thou King the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy Father a Kingdome, and Majestie, and glory, and honour*, (what more can any conceive in a King then is heere expressed?) And for the Majestie he gave him &c. v. 19. (marke it well; it is not sayd that the People gave it) he swelled in pride, was unkinged for a time, till he acknowledged that the most high God ruleth in the Kingdome of men, and that he appointed over it whomsoever he will. v. 21. After this *Daniel* bringeth home his application to *Belshazzar*, prudently checking him that he had not made right use of that before his Father, but had tread in the same way of pride, and added to his Fathers sinne the prophaning of Sacred things, that for this cause he and his are extirpated root and branch. The writing was *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*. The sense is, he was found light in Gods ballance his Kingdome was numbered and finished, and divided or given to the *Medes and Persians*, Who in executing this vengeance against an ingrate and Sacrilegious King, were nothing else, but the instruments, the axe and rod of God, as you may reade *Is. 45.* and *44. 28.* and *Jer. 51. 11.* As his Grand-Fathers was before against *Babylon*, as you may reade *Is. 13. 17.*

In the passages adduced consider. First who is the author (I meane not the principall, for without controversie it is the holy Spirit) *Daniel* a man

eminent

eminent and excellent in Court credit and preferment. But this is not so considerable, consider him therefore as one of the Prophets, of most rare endowments, for wisdome and extraordinary revelations. Secondly, Next reflect your thoughts a little How this truth is manifested. It is from heaven, but how I pray you? *By dreames; By voyce; By acrying voyce; By writ;* from whom, *from the most high God: from the holy one: from the war-cher: from the God of heaven:* to whom? To *Nebuchadnezzar* the Emperour of the *Assyrians*, and *Babylonians*, to *Belsazzar* his sonne; and all the way miraculous. The dreame is forgotten, to *Daniel* it is miraculously revealed, with no lesse wonder interpreted: It is written miraculously, Interpreted and read as wonderfully: and all this in the wise dispensation of God, that Kings and all may acknowledge that Kings and Kingdomes are of God. Before this truth be not knowne to Kings and all, he will reveale it extraordinarily, miraculously, By dreames, by voyces, by cries, by writings from heaven; and that all may take notice of it, the dreame is forgotten, Magicians are sought to, because they cannot finde it out, death is decreed against them, yet God will have it to goe unknown, to his servant he reveales it, all the Empire take notice of it, all admire it. To confirme it yet more, the King must live like a beast, till He beleve, He confesse, He professe this truth; This truth is not once spoken, but twice, it is scene, it is hard: The *Babylonians* had forgotten it; *Belsazzar* had slighted it, neglected it. When he, his Councillers, his Lords are feasting, carrowling, a finger from heaven writes it, None can read it, *Daniel* is sought; he reads it, interprets it, That all may take notice of it. The Father for not acknowledging this truth, But sacrificing to himselfe, Of a King is made a beast, but repentance restores him. The sonne hath harder measure, He is dethroned, rooted out for ever. And a way is made; that *Cyrus* in his succeeding to the Empire, may acknowledge that his Kingdome was of God, which he did truly, as we told before. Where can you shew any truth of this kind, in Scripture so revealed, so manifested: By such miraculous, extraordinarie, and admirable wayes? I thinke it is hard to hit upon a paralell to it. God knew well before, How apt we are to robbe Kings of their due right and honour, nay, rather how prone corrupt man is to intrude upon God and invade his right.

If any will be pleased to consider seriously *Daniel's* prophecies, what are they but predictions that all Empires, Kingdomes, Majesty, Royalty and Sovereignty are of Gods immediate donation. They are not disposed of by the composed contracts of men, but by the Immediate hand and worke of God. All Ancients and Modernes for the most part acknowledge here



in *Daniel* to be the clearest, the most distinct prophecies, predictions, of the foure great Empires. If you will cast your eyes upon the Historical part of *Daniel's* booke, there is no truth, which is so much treated spoken of as this truth, as that Kings and Kingdomes are dependent from God alone, and Independent from all others. It may be, because *Daniel* was a great Courtier, as *Joseph* was with *Pharoah*, that he might not be judged a time-server, a temporizer, a complier, to vindicate him from Court-flatterie, God did so many wayes, so miraculous wayes demonstrate this truth, confirme this truth, That Sovereignty, Royall Majestie, come from heaven, from God Immediately.

What Prophet almost hath not a hint, an expression of this. *Isay* is plentiful in this: as you may see, in *Nebuchadnezzar*, in *Cyrus* &c. and all Neighbour Princes: *Jeremy* taught it to the Jewes to his owne disadvantage. The Prophet *Hosea*, or rather God himselfe by the Prophet with one breath, in one verse, in few words, with a *dedi*, and a *abstuli*, hath expressed, hath confirmed this doctrine. c. 13. 11. *I gave them a King in my anger, and tooke him away in my wrath. I gave him, I tooke him away*; what can you require more. I pray give me leave to observe one thing in the words, besides our maine purpose for which we cited it. He saith, *dedi eu regem in ira mea*: I gave them a King in my Anger; This King in the judgement of some was *Saul*; according to the mind of others, This King was *Jeroboam*, it killeth not whether the one or the other. Both of them were wicked. Yet it is said, *Dedi*, I gave him, and as I gave him, so *abstuli*; I tooke him away: None giveth but He, None can take away but He. God will admit none to doe either the one, or the other but himselfe. It is observable too, that in giving a bad King, it is onely sayd *in ira mea*, I gave him in my anger; but in taking away a bad King it is said, *abstuli in furore meo*, I tooke him away in my wrath: what difference is betwixt *ira* and *furore*, anger and wrath all doe know. What doth this intimate to us, then but to have a bad King, is a chastisement *Irati Dei*, Of an angry God, who is placable; But to have no King at all, it is a worke of vengeance, a token a prognosticke of an Implacable God at least hardly placable.

If you account *Job* for a Prophet, or *Jeremy* &c. it killeth not much which way you terme him. He saith *Reges collocat in solio, in perpetuum*, and again, *Baltheum regum dissolvit*. the places you have cited before. What he speaketh for Sovereignty you shall heare q*uest*. 4. c. 5. For *Salomon* his suffrage you had before. What he saith of the heart of Kings, &c. Of not resisting Kings, you shall heare it in it's proper place, That a King, there is no rising up

up against him : what in the booke of *Ecclesiastes*, he speaketh of his absolute Sovereignty, you shall finde it in its proper place. Ere long you shall by Gods grace heare *David* speake for himselfe.

And because we said before, that no truth almost in Scripture is more aptly and frequently delivered, then the Sovereignty of Kings, their creation by God immediately, the Historicall part is plentifull in this kinde. In *Genesis*, it is promised to *Abraham*, that Kings shall come of him. There it is fixed by Prophecy in the Tribe of *Judah*, with *Judiciaria* and *Legislativa potestas*, with the Scepter and Law-giver. In the Law it is fore-told, his duty is prescribed. *Moses* dying prayeth for one onely to rule the people after his death. In *Joshuah* his booke, you have as compleat as absolute a Monarch as we plead for, as by expresse Scripture in its owne place we shall cleare by Gods grace. In the booke of *Judges*, the *Sophetim*, the Judges are Monarchs, and not once but oftner there it is told us, that all evill was in the Land for want of a King. In the bookes of *Samuel*, you have not onely the Institutions of Kings, but *Jus Regum* expressed. To name the bookes of *Kings* and *Chronicles* is ridiculous. In the bookes of *Ezra*, &c. Looke upon *Cyrus*, *Darius*, &c. As for the New Testament, See how Christ taught it, practised it, and his Apostles after him : to point at this is not necessary. If our trait-laced brethren would be pleased to cast an eye upon *Apocrypha*, I referre them to *Ecclesiasticus*, cap. 6. 1, 2, &c. Heare ye Kings, &c. Give care you that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of Nations, for Power is given you of the Lord, and Sovereignty from the Highest, &c. Yet fearing this passage will not be current enough amongst our Sectaries, I point at two passages of *David*, till we heare him speake more fully : The one is, *Psal.* 21. 3. *Thou settest a Crowne of pure Gold upon his head.* The other is, *Psal.* 84. 44. *Thou hast made his glory to cease, and cast his Throne downe to the ground.*

I doe confesse ingenuously it is a great wounder to me, how any man that readeth Scripture attentively, doth not heartily and without scruple acknowledge, that Kings and Sovereignty are independent from all, and onely derived from God : and that this truth is not onely verified of the Kings of the *Jewes*, but all Kings whatsoever. Which truth, we are hopeful we have confirmed clearely. yet will proceed to adde more reasons, and to remove some more of their poore evasions.

## CHAP. IV.

*That Kings are onely dependent from God, and not from the Community, is more proved by Scripture. The poore shifts of Suarez and Bellarmine is removed, who abusing the passage Deut. 17. would have the constitution of the Kings of Israel to relate to the people, as its reall and proper origen and cause; and the priviledged case onely this, that God reserved to himselfe the designation of the Person of the King.*

**T**HIS other shift of *Suarez* and *Bellarmino*, in the title of the Chapter expressed, is as poore a one as the other; nor can it hold when it is examined by Scripture and reason. Both the *Jesuits* and the *Puritans*, their Disciples build this quirk upon the naked perverted letter of the text, that *Deut. 17. 14. 15.* it is said of the people, that they *set the King over them*; and upon Gods part it is said, *Him shalt thou set over thee whom the Lord thy God shall chuse.* Ergo, say they, the constitution is the peoples, the election of the person is Gods. It is a lame consequence; for the words *Constitues super te*, Thou shalt set over thee, are not to be understood of Constitution by collating, or transferring from them to the King Majestie and Sovereignty: but of Constitution by way of approbation, or of accepting of him as King, acknowledging him as King, reverencing and obeying him as King, whom God hath both designed and constituted by himselfe King. In this sense we grant a *Constitues super te*, a setting over thee; and because this is the last act in constituting a King, that puts that *in fieri in facto esse, quasi ultima dispositio inducens formam*, as the last disposition which induceth the forme in the matter, by a *Synecdochicall* and *Tropicall* speech it is so usually spoken. Nor is it unusual to the Spirit of God in Scripture to speake this way, for it is said, *1. Cor. 6. The Saints judge the world*: Now it is certaine that the judgement of the Saints is only by approving or consenting to Christs judgement, which is his only *authoritative*, properly; and their act in that great Judgement at the last day, is onely to approve or consent rather to the righteous judgement of their

their Lord: yet Scripture standeth not to say, *The Saints shall judge the world*. To judge by authority is onely proper to God the Father, by the Sonne, to whom the Father hath given all judgement; and this leaveth no place, no power to the Saints to dissent. The like holdeth in the instance proposed.

That this is to be conceived so (which is our sixth argument, to confirme that Kings and their Sovereignty are immediately from God) is more then apparent, that Almighty God in Scripture vindicateth to himselfe all the acts, reall and imaginable, which are necessary for the making of Kings. If the Jesuite make much of the letter of the Text, *Deut. 17.* where its said, *The Lord should chuse the King, and the people set the King over them*; Let us consider how the practise interprets the Letter of the Law, it is an infallible maxime with Jurists, *Praxis optimus Legis interpres*, Practise is the best Commentary of Law: and it is no lesse a ruled case, that the first president is a ruling case to all following in that kind. Come then, take the first instance in *Saul*, the first elected and constituted King by the tenor of this Law. In the practise the phrase is varied and turned over, the election is given to the people, the constitution to God: *1 Sam. 12. 13. Behold the King (saith Samuel) whom you have chosen and desired, and behold the Lord hath set a King over you.* This election of the people can be no other but their admittance or acceptance of the King whom God had chosen and constituted; as the words, *Whom you have desired*, imply. Scripture telleth us, that *Saul's* election and constitution was, *1 Sam. 9. 17.* when God said to Samuel, *Behold the man whom I spake to thee of, the same shall reigne over my people*: and when Samuel tooke a violl of oyle, powred it upon his head, kissed him, and said, *Is it not because the Lord hath annointed thee to be Captaine over his inheritance?* *1 Sam. 10. 1.* Where you have Samuel as Priest and Prophet annointing, doing reverence and obeysance to him, and ascribing to God that he did appoint him Supream and Sovereigne over his inheritance. The same againe is totally given to God, *1 Sam. 12. 13. The Lord hath set a King over you.* The expression and phrase is the same with that you have of Christ and his Kingdome, *Psal. 2. 6. I have set my King upon my holy hill of Sion.* I am confident none will be so sacrilegiously impudent, as to give to Church, to man or Angel, creature or creatures, any share in any act of constituting Christ King over his Church, and for his Church, and in order to it, over all the Kingdomes of the world.

By what is said of this first practise it is more then evident, that God in that Law of making Kings *Deut. 17.* did vindicate as proper and peculiar

to himſelfe the designation of the perſon of the King, and the inveſting of him in royall power and Sovereigntie. The People then were onely to admit and accept of their King by God ſo deſigned and conſtituted, and to yield all reverence, obedience, and maintenance neceſſary. It was not arbitrary to them to admit or reſect *Saul* ſo deſigned, ſo conſtituted by God himſelfe immediately; reſect him they could not. Yet God in his wiſe prudent diſpenſation of all things judged it expedient to complete and conſummate this worke by the acceptation, conſent, and approbation of the People, *Ut ſuaviori modo*, that by the ſmoother way he might thus encourage *Saul* to the undergoing of this hard charge, and make his People the more heartily without grumbling or ſcruple reverence and obey him. As by his providence he doth all things powerfully, ſo he diſpoſeth of all *in xpus*, for the good of man in a ſweet and milde way. This admittance poſſibly added ſomething to the ſolemnitie of *Saul's* inveſting, but nothing to the eſſentiall or reall conſtitution; as the *intimation* of a Law, (which in Lawes I thinke hath more intereſt than this admittance here) it hath no influence upon a Law made by ſupreme power, yet it is uſefull, it puts the Subjects *in malâ fide*, makes them inexcusable if they contravene. Or this admittance was and is as the Imperialiſts ſay truly of the Popes confirmation of the elected Emperour, good *ad pompam*, but not requiſite *ad neceſſitatem*. Or if you will ſpeake with the Romaniſts, that the confirmation is of the Pope once elected, is *ad ſolemnitatem*, not *ad neceſſitatem*, for the ſolemnitie, not ſimply neceſſary. Or to come more neare and with more certaintie and truth; it is like the Coronation of an hereditary King, which is onely for ſolemnitie, not for neceſſitie: for before that ceremony and ſolemnitie his Title is as good as after it; and any act of royall power and juriſdiction done before his Coronation is as valid as any done after his Coronation. Or if you will, it is like the enthronization of a Biſhop, or inſtalling of a Canon or Prebend in a Cathedral Church.

Scripture maketh this good plentifully elſewhere; for it punctually aſcribeth all acts eſſentially conſtitutive of Kings immediately to God. In one full word, *the making of a King* is given to God, *1 Kings 3.7.* And now O Lord my God, thou haſt made thy ſervant King in ſtead of David my father. The providing of a King is given to God, *1 Sam. 16.1.* I have provided me a king. The King in a proper and peculiar way is called God's King, *Pſal. 18.50.* Great deliverance giveth he to his King. God exalteth them, *Pſal. 89.19.* I have exalted one choſen out of the People. Not the People but God ſudgeth Kings out, *ibid. verſ. 20.* I have found David my ſervant. Neither Prielt, nor Prophet, nor People, really anoint Kings.

God





minated and come from People as it's first subject and seal, it's origen and source is not conceivable in reason. *Sacred* it is in three respects. 1. First, from a sacred fountain, a sacred efficient, from God himselfe. 2. Next, for it's sacred influence upon the person, it makes the person of the King sacred. 3. For it's influence upon the charge, the function, his power, his authoritie is sacred too. And both the person and the charge are supreme, which is most fitly resembled in the sacramentall ceremonie of oile, put oile in whatsoever liquour you will it swimmeth above in the surface.

Now all this is so intirely and soly given to God, that neither Priest nor People, Pope nor Presbyterie have any part in it, *Psal. 89. 20. With mine holy oile have I anointed him.* God findes the oile and the hand to do it. You will say, *Samuel's* hand did it. The principle of the Law will take away this scruple; *Quod quis facit per alium, facit per se.* What one doth by another, he doth that by himselfe. *Samuel* was onely the delegate, God was the principall and delegant; and in reason the act must be referred to the principall. The oile was God's too, not from the Apothecaries shop, nor the Priest's viall, this oile descended from the Holy Ghost who is no lesse the *true Olive* than *Christ* is the *true Vine*. Yet I pray you mistake it not to account it of the holy oile of *Gratia gratum faciens, Saving Grace*, as some fanatickes and fantastickes fondly imagine: this is a sacred oile, to make the person and function sacred, as we have said.

Our seventh argument to prove that *Soveraignty in a king is immediately from God*, and not from the diffusive, collective, representative, or virtually bodie of the communitie, is that all *royall ensignes and acts* of Kings are ascribed to God. If Kings were the derivatives of the People and Communitie, in whom is that fancies, underived Majestie, how comes it to passe that the holy Spirit hath not in any place or syllable of Scripture intimated it? And how commeth it to passe, that in such a particular way and enumeration all are given to God? 1. *Their Crown is of God*, by putting it on their head, *Isai 62. 3. The royall Diademe is in the hand of the Lord, Psal. 21. 3. Thou puttest a Crown of pure gold upon his head.* Hence it was that the Emperours coine of old was printed with an hand coming out of Heaven and putting it on their head. The very Heathen did terme them *Storopæi*, as having and holding their Crownes from God: Their Sword is God's and he girdeth them with it. *David* professeth so much, *Psal. 18. 39. For thou hast girded me with strength* (the Sword is the Embleme of strength) *unto the battaile.* See *Judges 7. 17. 3. Their Scepter is the Scepter of God, Exod. 4. 20. & 17. 9.* The Hebrew word *Seber* signifieth no lesse Scepter than Rod. It is a miraculous one too: we reade  
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onely of two miraculous Rods, *Moses's* and *Aaron's*. By *Moses's* rod what wonders were wrought in *Egypt*, and what a miracle was it that the rod of *Aaron* budded, and none else of the twelve Tribes? and for what purpose was it that God made both the one and the other miraculous? Was it not to manifest to the world, that the soveraigne power of a King, as *Moses* was King of *Ieshurun*, and high sacred power of the high Priest, and the Tribe of *Levi*, were not by derivation, by translation, by communication from the People, but immediately, independently from God himselfe? He is well nigh out of his wits, that will make any thing miraculous the worke and effect of the multitude. 4. *Their judgement is the judgement of the Lord*, 2 *Chron.* 19. 6. Again, 5. *Their throne is the throne of God*, 1 *Chron.* 19. 21.

The ancient Fathers and Councels used the same diction; they called 1. Their writings, *sacri apices*. 2. Their presence, *sacra vestigia*. 3. Their Majestie, *sacra majestas*. 4. Their words, their commands, *divalis jussio*. The Law speaketh the same language; and whatsoever goods belonged to them, they are called *res sacra*. See *Brisseni* his *Lexicon lib.* 7. in the word *Sacras*.

Being that in holy Scripture, in reverend antiquitie, and in the Law, all their ensignes, all their royall Acts, their persons, their right, their goods, are denominated sacred, and given to God himselfe; how can our new Statists, against the expressions of the holy Spirit, of the holy Fathers, and of Jurists, honour Kings no better, but to call them derivatives of the People? Is this to enoble them? No truly, it disgraces Kings, it maketh them the basest extract of the basest of ratioll creatures, the multitude, the communitie. It is certainly untrue, if it be not blasphemous against God and the King, to fixe as in its first seat and receptacle an *underived Majesty* in the communitie; where there is not one of a thousand an intelligent and knowing man. It is certainly high Treason against God and the King.

A world of Reasons to prove that Kings are independent from all, and soly dependent from God, may be brought from Scripture; but because we intend brevity and haste to other things, we point at some few to be considered and enlarged by the judicious Reader himselfe.

As first, to whom can it be more proper to give the rule over men than to him who is the onely King truly and properly of the whole world.

2. Next, God is the immediate Authour of all rule and power that is amongst all his creatures above or below; why then should we exclude him from being the immediate Authour of Government of Empire amongst men.

3. Thirdly, man in the state of innocencie, in his first Creation received dominion and empire over all the creatures below, *Gen. 1. 28. Replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowle of the aire, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.* Again, after the fall, *Gen. 9. 2. The feare of you, and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowle of the aire, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered.* Can we be so stupid, as to acknowledge the dominion over all the creatures below, is given to man immediately from God, and to deny that the most noble and excellent Government, by which man hath power and empire over men is not from God, by his institution and constitution, but by the compact and contract, the composition and constitution of men?

4. Fourthly, to demonstrate their immediate derivation from God: that their power is immediately from him is more than apparent by this reason. They who exercise the judgement of God, must needs have their power to judge from God. But so it is that Kings by themselves and their Deputies exercise the judgements of God. The proposition is sure, and is both confirmed and illustrated by considering how that Churchmen are rightly said to have received their ministeriall power from God and Christ, because God by them reconciles the world to himselfe, and saves mankinde, *2 Cor. 5. 17, 18, 19, 20. 1 Tim. 4. 16.* How is it imaginable that they can be said to judge in God's place, and not receive the power from God? The assumption is as evident by expresse words of Scripture; see *Deut. 1. 17. 2 Chron. 9. 6.* Let no man stumble at this, that *Moses* in the one place, and *Josaphat* in the other, speake to subordinate Judges under them; this weakeneth no wayes our argument, for it is a ruled case in Law, *Quod quis facit per alium, facit per se*; all judgements of inferior Judges are in the name, authoritie, and by the power of the Supreme; and are but communicatively and derivatively from the soveraigne power..

5. Fifthly, not onely their power is of God, their *iudiciaria potestas*, but the very execution of it. They are the Ministers of God in the execution of their charge and power; *ergo*, their charge and power is immediately from God, All the testimonies of Scripture wherein they are called Gods confirme the antecedent, and especially those where the supreme Governour is called, the Servant, the Minister, the Angel, the publique Servant of God: Doth not this Argument hold in the Ministerie? Doctours and Preachers of the Church discharging their charge are called, the Embassadors,

ambassadors, the Legates, the Ministers of God; and from hence we conclude necessarily that the Ministerie is from God and Christ. The Apostle Saint Paul *Rom* 13. 4, 5, 6. calleth the supreme Magistrate thrice, *δικαιος*, and *ληιταργος τῷ θεῷ*, and pregnantly expresseth, that the King in the execution of his charge is doing service to God, *v. 4. He is the Minister of God to thee for good.* But if thou do that which is evill be affraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain. Again, *He is the Minister of God, avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evill.* Again, *vers. 6. For they are Gods Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.* The Greek *οὐκ ἀπαρτῆντες*, is well rendred attending continually, and is in its nature active, and so looketh to the execution of his charge properly. In the Book of *Wisd.* cap. 6. 5. The authour attributeth to God *βασιλείαν*, to Kings and Rulers, the Ministerie onely; *ὁ πατήρ, ὁ ὢν πῶς τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας.* There can be no argument better to prove, that both their soveraigne power and execution of it is from God, then that properly and primarily God Almighty is King, and all Kings related to him are onely equivocally so; for he is *Rex regum & Dominus dominantium*, 1 *Tim.* 6. 15. *Revel.* 1. 5. & 21. 27. & 19. 20. & 17. 14. He is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, *ὅστις κατ' ἀλήθειαν*, truly so, Kings upon earth are onely such, *κατὰ ὁμοίαν*, more in resemblance, than realtie, and betwixt the one and the other, the Kings of Heaven, and Kings on earth, no more proportion than is betwixt Heaven and Earth, a thing finite and infinite: for this cause Scripture *Marks* 10. 41. speaketh no better of Kings and Princes on earth, than that they are *ὡς δοκῶντες ἄρχον*, not so much truly men that have empire and rule, as such that appeare to be so: from whence then shall we derive Sovereignty and Royalty but from that true Royalty and Sovereignty in God alone.

6. Sixthly, the power and grace by which they are enabled for so high a charge and employment is onely from Almighty God, then by necessary consequence the charge must be soly and onely from him. The connexion is naturall, for in right reason, to whom can it be due to give a charge of this concernment properly, but onely to him who is able to give the endowments, and to *habilitate* for that charge. Now that the endowment is from God immediately, the sacramentall ceremony of anointing sheweth it, and that exactly they are called the *Lords Anointed*. We need not use symbollicall arguments, seeing the schooles allow them no convincing force, the Holy Spirit hath given it to us in plain and naturall termes right down. Of *Othniel* the first Judge after *Joshua*, it is said, *Judges* 3. 10. *And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he judged Israel.* The like you have spoken of *Saul*, after that he was anointed and appointed King  
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of Israel, 1 Sam. 10. & 11. and elsewhere. The same is said of David, 1 Sam. 17. Very knowing men in Divinitie interpret the passage Prov. 20. 12. *The hearing eare, and the seeing eye, the Lord hath made even both of them*: that the facilitie to rule well, and the grace to obey Rulers both of them are of God immediately: by the hearing eare understanding the actuall obedience of the Subject; and by the seeing eye, the actuall Government and Empire of the Sovereigne: the interpretation is according to the analogie of sacred and divine Truth. If any be contentious to hold it is not the native sense of the Text, we will not contest or contend unnecessarily, seeing we have plain places to the same purpose. David professeth and acknowledgeth, that the subjection of his People to him was the immediate worke of God, *Psal. 144. 2.* The like see 1 Sam. 10. 26. when *Saul* was constituted King some despised him, but those *whose hearts God had touched*, followed and revered him.

6. Sixthly, where soveraigne power is, as in Kings, there is *authoritie* and *Majestie*, a ray of divine glorie. But this cannot be found in People, they cannot be the subject of it, whither you consider them *joyntly* or *singly*. If you consider them *singly*, it cannot be, for this is not to be found in every individuall; and according to our Antimonarchicall Sectaries, all by natureright are equally equall borne with a like freedome. If it be not in the People considered *singly*, it cannot be derived from them being considered *joyntly*, for all the contribution in this compact and contract which they fantasie to be humane composition, and voluntary constitution, is onely by a surrender of the native right every individuall hath in himselfe, from whence then can this Majesty and Authority be derived? Again, where the obligation is amongst equals by compact and contract, violation of the faith plighted in the contract cannot in proper termes be called disobedience or contempt of Authority; it is, no more but a receding from, and violation of that which was promised, as it may be in States or Cantons confederate. Nature, reason, conscience, Scripture teach, that disobedience to soveraigne power is not onely violation of truth, breach of covenant, but also high disobedience and contempt. That this authority is in Princes, it is evident by sense, by experience, by Scripture, by the confession of the Heathen. The passage we did alleadge before proveth this, 1 Sam. 10. 26. To that passage adde that *cap. 11.* that when *Saul* hewed a yoke of oxen in pieces, and intimated that whosoever came not forth after him, so it should be done to his oxen: such was the authoritie, that the Text saith, *The feare of the Lord fell on the People, and they came out with one consent*, 1 Sam. 11. 7. This is well expressed by *Job cap. 12. vers. 18.*

*He looseth the bond of Kings, and girdeth their loynes with a girdle.* By the first expression, *He looseth the bond of Kings*, *Job* meaneth, that when God is to cast off Kings, and to throw their honour in the dust, He looseth their Authority, and bringeth them and it in contempt. By the other phrase, *and girdeth their loynes with a girdle*, *Job* intimateth, that when he is to preserve Kings and their Rights, that he strengthneth them with authority, and maketh people reverence them. That this is the meaning, you may conceive it by what he saith, *Psalm 135. He putteth contempt upon Princes, and weakeneth the strength of the mighty.* By this Authority and Majestie *Salomon* invested in Royalty, dissipated *Adonijah* and all his treacherous complices.

The Heathen have observed, that in Princes there is *Alis n*, something divine, above the reach of man, which cannot be derived from them. If we may beleieve prophane Story, this Majestie was so eminent in *Alexander* the Great, that it was a terrour to his enemies, a power strong enough to compose seditious counsels and attempts, a powerfull load-stone to draw the counsels of his most experienced Commanders to imbrace and obey his counsels, his commands. Some Stories write, that this Majestie was resplendent upon great exponents in the eyes of *Scipio*. What was that which kept *Pharaoh* from lifting up his hand against *Moses*, who charged him so boldly with his sinnes, denounced and brought so terrible, so great plagues upon him? What was it I pray you, but this Authority and Majestie resplendent in him, which was a curb to the tyranny of his malice and power? When *Moses* did speake face to face with *God* in the Mount, and when he came downe that his face shined, so that the people could not behold it till it was covered with a veyle, what else was it but this resplendent glory of Majestie? *Exod. 34.* What else was it that repressed the fury of the people enraged against *Gideon* for destroying their Idol; but this Majestie? *Judg. 6.* And as by Gods ordinance we see that the feare and terrour of man is upon all the creatures living below, *Gen. 9.* So what else can this feare and reverence which is innate in the hearts of all Subjects towards their Sovereignes be, but the ordinance unrepeatable of God; and the naturall effect of that Majestie in Princes with which they are endowed from above.

7. Seventhly, This seemeth, or rather is an argument unanswerable to prove Sovereigne power to be independently and immediately from above; That Sovereigne power is armed with *Potestas vita & necis*, power of life and death, which cannot flow or issue from man, for no man hath it; None can lay claime to it, but the *living God*, the author of life, who killeth  
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and giveth life againe. That Sovereigne power hath this power is so certaine, as it cannot be denied: *Gen. 9.* In the restoring of the world after the flood, 1. First, God reiterates the blessing of increasing and multiplying, *v. 1.* The same which in his bounty he bestowed on *Adam* and *Eve*, *Gen. 1. 28.* 2. Next, he establisheth mans Sovereignty over the creatures here beneath, *v. 2, 3.* 3. Thirdly, hee establisheth the civill government, *v. 5, 6.* where first hee challengeth the power to himselfe in one maine thing explicitly, in the punishing or shedding of mans blood to death; but implicitly in all government, for the parts of government being all homogeneous of one kinde, we must referre all to one origen, which is God. The words are, *v. 5.* *Surely the blood of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beast will I require it; and at the hand of man, and at the hand of every mans brother will I require the life of man.* In which words clearly is told, the right is Gods primarily properly, thrice in the words God vindicates it, I will require it, I will require it, I will require it. Lest any should thinke that God is to doe it immediately by his owne hand, and not otherwise, *v. 6.* it is added, *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed againe: for in the Image of God made hee man.* Here is the institution of Sovereignty; and here the Sovereigne is invested as Gods deputy to punish the slayer of man by death. I hope none will conceive it so, that any man whatsoever may doe this, and is invested with this power. This were a mighty disorder and confusion. Nothing can be more pernicious to mankind, and opposite to God and his ordinance, who is the God of order and not of confusion. The words in the originall are *וְדָמָא דְּבְרִיָּהּ דְּחַיָּהּ דְּבְרִיָּהּ דְּחַיָּהּ* Schoppek dām haadam, haadam dāmō jischapek. It is well rendered in our English Biddes, *who so sheddeth mans blood by man shall his blood be shed.* The old Translation is imperfect, *Quis effuderit sanguinem hominis, fundetur sanguis illius.* We will grant to Bellarmine, that the sense is not corrupted in this Translation, but will never yeld that it is not imperfect, for the maine and Cardinal word, *Baudam, per hominem;* by the Cardinal's leave is omitted. Let the Cardinal say what he will, whom you may looke upon *L. 2. de verb. Sig. cap. 12.* Nor do we thinke that the interpretation we have for the *Septuagint* is full enough, which is, *ὃς ἐκχύσῃ αἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ αἷμα ἐκχέσθαι;* *Quil effuderit sanguinem hominis, pro sanguine hominis ejus effunderetur.* And with reverence we dissent too from *Aquila Montanus;* and *Pagninus* translations, *Effunderet sanguinem hominis, ne hominis sanguis ejus effunderetur;* my reasons with humble submission to better judgement, and reverence to so great men, are 1. First, *Baudam in homine, or per hominem;* omitted in *Gram-*

mar be added to the subject or antecedent, *Effundens sanguinem*, but must belong to the predicat or consequent, *sanguis ejus effundetur*; and so the compleat and perfect sense is, *Effundens sanguinem hominis, per hominem sanguis ejus effundetur*: just as our Bibles english it, *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*. The reason of this, because in the originall the accent *Zakephkathon*, which maketh as the Grammarians say, *incisum majus*, a distinction is put above the word *Haadam*; so that *Baadam* is to be joyued to the next: the like reading you may finde in the very verse immediately preceding. 2. Next, this *per* both in *Baadam* signifieth no lesse *per* then *in*; by then *in*; and *by* is the Preposition which expresseth the instrumentall cause; and consequently it importeth one Gods instrument, who is authorized from him. 3. Thirdly, the *Jewes* in their *Thargum*, their *Chaldee* Paraphrase or Translation write the words so; that they understand this *Baadam*, by man, of the Judge, who from God is authorized with power. *Unkelos* wrenth it thus; *Qui effuderit sanguinem hominis, cum testibus, sive per testes; juxta sententiam judicum, sanguis ejus effundetur*. *Sonathas* giveth the sense thus; *Qui effuderit sanguinem hominis per testes, condemnabitur cum Iudices ad necem; Et qui effuderit absque testibus, Dominum mundi olim vindictam ab eo sumet in die Iudicii*. Both of them agree in this, that the reading is thus, *Who so sheddeth the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed*; and both of them conceive it so, that this *Baadam*, this *Per hominem*, this *by man* is not every man, but the Judge authorized from God, or both from God and his Sovereigne. 4. Fourthly, to say, *Qui effuderit sanguinem hominis in homine, sanguis ejus effundetur*, He that sheddeth the blood of man in man, his blood shall be shed, is neither so good, nor so perfect and full a sense, as *Quicumque effuderit sanguinem hominis, per hominem sanguis ejus effundetur*, Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed. 5. Fifthly and lastly, if you value not the testimony or paraphrase of *Unkelos* and *Sonathas*, (although *Franciscus Xymenius* and other learned men, judge the paraphrase of the *Thargum* upon the Law true and faithfull) take an argument for it uncontroulable, that is our Saviour, *Matth. 26. v. 52. All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword*. Saint *Austin* telleth us that the New Testament is veiled in the Old, and *Vetus Testamentum revelatum in Novo*, and the Old Testament is revealed in the new. A better Commentary of Gods speeches and words we cannot have then *Abi et non desit*, and *Abi et desit*, Then the Some, the Word of God, and that Word which is God. In Christs speech, *shall perish by the sword*, in the phrase and dialect of Scripture we can understand nothing else, but the Sovereigne power that bea-

reth the sword. Let the Apostle interpret the Master: Saint Paul, Rom. 13. 1. Hee commandeth subjection and obedience to superiour powers, *Quisquis est dominus*: and v. 6. He telleth you *He beareth not the sword in vaine.*

The words thus cleared, we summe up our argument thus. God onely hath the power of mans life. No man hath power over his owne life. Who so taketh away the life of man, in Gods justice and ordinance, his life is to be taken away againe. This principally and properly belongeth to God, v. 5. *I will require, &c.* but God hath given this to some deputies: This power is not given to every one, as the terrour of an ill conscience made Cain say, *Whosoever findeth me shall kill me.* This were to destroy mankind, and make God the God of disorder and confusion. Some man it is then by distinction and excellency who is Gods deputy, and then this can be none else but he in whom is Sovereigne power, and this power is from none else but from God Almighty: And if this power over life be from God, why not all Sovereigne power? seeing it is *homogeneous*, and as *Iurists* say, *in indivisibili posita*, a thing indivisible in its nature, that cannot be distracted, put away, nor empaired; as a Crowne, take any part from it, is no more a Crowne. When God gave this order, the world knew well enough what this *Adam*, by man was; neither before this time, nor at this time knew the world any kinde of Government but Monarchicall: and this Monarch was *Noah*.

8. Eightly, as their Judiciarie and Sovereigne power in *actu signato*, the execution and exercise of Royall power in *actu exercito*, is given to God Almighty, as to its first and proper origen and source; so all the acts done by Kings are ascribed to God, and we finde them the immediate instruments by whom God worketh here the greatest workes of Justice, when he is to punish men, and the greatest workes of mercy when he is to bless them. That both for the one and the other, they are called his servants: His axe, his rod, and the workes they doe, to be such as he hath prepared of old. In the worke of Justice punishing his people, looke upon *Nebuchadnezzar*. See what God fore-telleth by *Isaiab*, by *Jeremy*; in the workes of mercy extraordinary, looke upon *Cyrus*: and for the actions both of the one and the other, consider Scripture, and consider if they be not particularly and immediately given to God in all their parts, their acts, as if they were nothing but dead and lifelesse instruments. See the places above-cited, which before we have named, and for brevities sake we now omit. To this argument may be added the immediate working God hath upon their hearts, their counsels; that their heart is in the hand of the Lord, as a boat



in the rivers of waters; how God sendeth them in their expeditions, their warres; maketh them in his day, his appointed day, to set their face against *Jerusalem*, or otherwise; casteth his hooke in their nostrils to bring them backe with shame. To this argument may be referred, that when God is to blesse a people, he sendeth them good Kings, the sonnes of Nobles; when he is to scourge them, naughty Kings, weake children, &c. The Testimonies of Scripture for all these are infinite, many, and obvious, which we remit to the readers memory or diligent search.

9. Ninthly, nor is to be passed by, that the Sovereigne immense Majestie of God is expressed by stiling and denominating him King, and his Supream glory is represented by sitting on a glorious Throne. See *Isaiah*, see *Daniel*, and the Prophets. Let us beware then that we make not God a derivative too of people, and a creature of mens making.

10. Tenthly, in the Scripture we reade that onely three kindes of men were annointed, Kings, Priests, Prophets: Let any give an instance of a fourth besides those three. It is granted of all, that Priests and Prophets have sacred charges, and are sacred persons of Gods immediate making and constitution; why then shall not Kings have the same prerogative, to be immediately from God, sacred in themselves, sacred in their charge, by divine ordinance and appointment.

11. Lastly, to close up this first part of our proofs from Scripture, it is a strong reason to perswade Sovereignty, Authority, and Majestie to be from God immediately, and independently from any others, in what consideration soever, that the irreverence, disobedience, contempt, rebellion, or any wrong what soever offered to their Persons, to their Authority, is wrong and contempt offered to God himselfe. See *1 Sam. 8*. This made *David* say, *Who can touch the Lords Anointed, and be innocent?* This made the Apostle say, *Rom. 13. 2. Who soever resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist receive to themselves damnation.* The like phrase to the first you have of the sacred Ministry in the Apostles, *1 Thess. 4. 8. He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man but God.* When the people murmured against *Moses* and *Aaron*, in the Law you have, *They murmur not against you but me.* The like you have in *Samuel*. The result of all is, That as the sacred Ministry is by collation immediately or independently from God; although the designation of the Person may be by men and the Church; so Kings may be personally designed and deputed to Royalty and Sovereignty by election, succession, conquest, or any other lawful possible way; but their Sovereignty and Power is by donation and collation immediately & solely from God, and referred to him as the only donor and

author. Again, as the person and function of such as are lawfully invested with sacred power, and in sacred orders, is inviolable and sacred, so are the persons and Sovereignty of Kings.

Our order proposed in the beginning of this Treatise, chargeth us now to produce our proofes from reverend antiquity. But I must begge leave of the Christian Reader, to discover the weaknesse and wickednesse of a new-devised trick of our Sectaries, That the King is God's, but not Christ's Vicegerent.

## CHAP. V.

*All Christian Kings are dependent from Christ, and may be called his Vicegerents.*

Whereas hitherto by expresse Scripture, and by arguments from thence by necessary consequence deduced, we have proved, That Kings and their Sovereignty are immediately dependent from God, and dependent from no other: Conceive it not so, that hereby wee seclude Christ, and him considered not onely *as God*, personally as the second Person in the Trinitie, but also *as man*, in his capacity, as God-man, the Saviour and Redeemer of the world.

Our Sectaries have found out a quicke, or trick rather, of late to hold and argue, that Kings are God's, not Christ's Lieutenants upon earth. Their purpose is the same in substance with the *Romanists*, although they differ in some thing; for the *Romanists* and *Puritans* both of them erect in every Kingdome another Sovereigne, not onely besides the true Sovereigne, but also above. In this they agree, and are like *Sampsons* foxes, who have their tailed knit together, and doe carry this fire-brand to consume Church and State. In one other they differ extremely, for the *Romanist* and *Jesuite* will have it to be the Pope, the *Puritan* and Sectaries fixe this Sovereignty in the *Presbyterie*.

We beleeve, with warrant of Scripture and sound antiquity, that all Crownes and Scepters, Kings and States, are dependent from Christ the Sonne of God, as he is *God and man*, the Saviour of the world and Head of the Church.

We intend not at this time to discusse that curious question, *Whether or*

not by Hereditary right Christ was hereditary King of the Jews: And we are speaking at this time of Christs Kingdome as Head of the Church, in order to all the Kingdomes of the world. The Kingdome we speake of is not what was due to him, as the *Sonne of David*, but as he was the *Saviour and Redeemer of David and all the world*. The right to which he had by *Hypotheticall union*, and his perfect merits and plentiful redemption. Some very learned men doe hold, that Christ was not entitled to this Kingdome till his Resurrection, and that then he had *Inguisum*, as the Jurists speake. There is not much danger to hold this or deny it, but with reverence to their great parts, and humble submission to better reasons, I dissent from them, and doe thinke, however it may be granted, that then he came to exercise it fully and perfectly, or if you will, that a new title and right did accrew to him, that what he had before by *hypotheticall union* only, now he had it by another supervenient *Right of merit*, and so had it *duplex titulo*, as Saint Bernard saith of him in another case: yet for any thing I could yet see, I am of the minde from the first instant and moment of his Incarnation, as God-man the Head of his Church. By the grace of *hypotheticall union*, he was *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. It cannot be denied, that while he was in the forme and state of a servant, in *statu ministerii*, in the state of humiliation, as by the no lesse mysterious then admirable and wise economie of God, the glory of his Deitie did not conspicuously and ordinarily shine thorow the veile of his flesh, no more did this Majestic and glory of his Sovereignty and Kingdome shine forth to the eyes of men. God in his unsearchable wisdom having appointed, that the Kingdome of God should not come with observation, and that the Jews might be rectified in their judgement, who did not expect a spirituall King and delivered, but a *Messiah*, to reigne temporally over them, and by his benignity all externall plenty, peace, and happiness. Nevertheless, such was the mercifull and bountifull dispensation of God in this cloudy and darke economie, that sometimes thorow the thicke and darker cloud of his flesh and infirmity, some little rayes of his immense Majestic did appeare. As in his miraculous operations; even so in the same manner, at many times, and by many acts, his Sovereignty was manifested; and that he was truly King, it was evidenced. At his birth, The wise men who came from the East worshipped him in his swaddling-clothes. They are in Scripture, and by the constant not interrupted course of the Church to this day commended for it. In his *passion*, he entered *Jerusalem* in Royall pompe: His Disciples and a great multitude did him obeysance, gave him Royall honour: and when the Jews grumbled at it, he told them that it was not onely just but necessary; *ut etiam scribitur et sic debet fieri et ego mitto vos in hoc mundum*. That

That if they and the People did hold their peace, the Stones would proclaime him King, and doe him Royall homage. In his arraignment, when he is to lay downe his Soule for his Sheep, he avouched himselfe before Pilate a King. Pilate demands the question, *art thou a King?* Pilate understood not any Kingdome in his question but a temporall one; a Spirituall Kingdome in his conception, was a meere notion, fancie, Chimera, Christ without dissimulation, equivocation, or mentall reservation, *ad mentem interrogantis* answereth, he was a King. *Math. 27. 11. Marc. 15. 2.* He had it written upon his Crosse. Buried, He had his Grave sealed as a King.

These things thus premised, we come to prove that Kings are Christs Vicegerents and Lieutenants upon the face of the earth. 1. Our first prooffe is, the place we insisted much in before, *Prov. 8. 15.* by what is said it is more then apparent, that *By me Kings reigne*, bath this sense, By me wisdom, the sonne of God, The word that was made flesh, Kings Reigne: you may finde many reasons by reviewing the most learned and most pious Bishops Sermons, Dr *Andrewes*, whose memory shall ever be in everlasting benediction. 1. First *Prov. 30. 4.* This wisdom is called the sonne of God. 2. Next this preposition *Per, By*, it is the proper and peculiar preposition of Christ. 3. Thirdly is it not very congruous that as by Christ we have all blessings spirituall in heavenly things, so by him we have Kings his derivatives constituted, the best and most eminent of temporall blessings? 4. Fourthly, Christ he is wisdom, and by him all blessings issuing from mercy; Kingdomes subsist more by wisdom then by power; why shall we not then from this wisdom establish Kings and their Sovereignty? The proper worke of wisdom is *ordinare*, to order, and to establish order; why then shall not all Monarchy referre its origen to this wisdom. 5. Lastly The originall word, *Bi*, is both in *me*, & *per me*, in *me* and by *me*, to intimate, as we said before, that Kings are first in him, and so come forth from him; and yet come so forth from him, that they are in him. Christ in them as his *Deputies*; They in him as their *author* and *authoriser*. He by their *persons*; They by his *power*.

2. Our second prooffe we bring from that Scripture averreth that Christ is not onely King of his Church, but in order to his Church, King over all the Kings and Kingdomes of the earth. Christs Kingdome over his Church. *Psal. 11. 6. 15.* in these words expressed, *I have set my King upon my holy hill Zion.* Over the whole world, in these words, *v. 8. I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession* which is not to be scanted by conceiving it onely of the calling of the Gentiles to the communion of his Church, but also of his Sovereignty over all the earth and Kings of the earth. This ordinance is by appointment.

appointment, and a decree irrevocable. v. 7. *I will declare the decree.* The words, *I shall give thee*, demonstrate that this *potestas* is not *eterna & interna*, that eternall power which is inseparable from him as God, but *data & externa*, a given and bestowed power, which is not conceivable in Christ, but *est* *hominis*, as man, or God-man, our Saviour and Redeemer.

3 A third prooff may be this, That as this was foretold by prophesy, so in the fulnesse of time it was really affected, and accomplished. *Math. 28. 18.* Our Saviour saith; *All power is given to me in heaven and in earth.* The word *Given*, sheweth this power is fixed in that capacity by which he is our Saviour. *all power in heaven and earth*, This universally is expressed, *all power* and by distribution exegetically amplified, *all power in heaven and earth*, which will not admit nor permit, that we exclude Sovereignty in Kings. *Ubi Lex non distinguit, nemo distinguere debet.* Let our adversaries shew where Kings and their Crownes are exempted or excepted from this, *all power in earth.*

4 Fourthly the Apostle Saint Paul, *Heb. 1. 2.* telleth us that God hath appointed *the Sonne*, by whom he hath spoken to us in the last dayes, *heir of all things.* If this inheritance be not over Kings, we are infinitely mistaken; and if Kings referre not their right to him as donor, they have no just title.

5 Fifthly, The Scripture to take away all cavils hath given us this truth *interminis terminantibus*, in plaine and expresse termes, *Revel. 1. 5.* Jesus Christ the faithfull witnesse, the first begotten of the dead is, *The Prince of the Kings of the earth.* that againe. *cap. 11. 27.* *Horneth them with a rod of Iron.* That this is meant, appliable at least to Kings, see and read it. *Psalm. 11. 9.* *Revel. 19. 12.* On his head you have *many Crownes*, an embleme of his Sovereignty over all Kings, and that all are his deputies, His substitutes. To what is sayd, adde that of Saint Paul. *1. Tim. 6. 15.* *He is the only potentate, The King of Kings and Lord of Lords.* That *The* is *ὁ θεός* a note of excellency. *Revel. 17. 14.* *The Lambe He is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, Revel. 19. 16.* *And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of Kings, Lord of Lords.* Observe the words attentively, How Characteristically this power is given to the Lambe, to Jesus, to the faithfull witnesse; That it is written on his thigh on his vesture; which qualifie this power is his due as he is the head and Saviour of his Church. It is worth your notice taking, that *this name* is written upon his thigh, that we may learne two things; The one is, That this power is fixed in Christ-man; The other is, That all Kings are *De semine Christi*, from him by generation.



Reason pleadeth for this truth; 1. First what is more fitable and convenient, then that all Kings of all ages, should issue from him, who is *Rex saculorum*, A King whose Kingdome endureth throughout all ages. It is the highest dignity of Crownes to hold of this Crowne.

2. Next Is it not prophecied by *Isaiah*, that Kings shall be the Nurse-Fathers of his Church, *Regis erunt nutritii tui*: Is it not fit then that they hold their Crownes of Christ? Is it not fit, that Kings be taught so much, that with the more alacrity and zeale, they may advance the good of Christs Kingdome.

3. Thirdly our divines doe acknowledge that by men in Sacred orders Christ doth rule his Church mediately, in those things which primely concerne Salvation; and that by Kings their Scepter and power. He doth protect & preserve his Church, & what concerns the externall government in order and decencie. How then can it be denied, that Kings in this Latter sense, are no lesse the Immediate Vicegerents of Christ, then Bishops, Preists, and Deacons, in the former? Looke upon the interpretations are given by the best and most able of our Divines upon *1 Cor. 15, 28*.

4. Fourthly, what is the reason that all Christian Emperours and Kings glory in the signe of the Crosse, and place it upon the top of their Sacred Crownes? It is not onely by this *Symbolum* Christianismi this ancient badge of Christianity to witnesse that they are Christians, and not ashamed of the Crosse of Christ; but also to acknowledge that they have received and hold their Crownes of him. Much more might be said to this purpose, but for brevities sake, and judging what is said to be sufficient to prove all Kings to be Christs Vicegerents, we spare with more reasons to transgresse upon the patience of the understanding reader.

Some have Shunned to speake thus, that *Kings are Christs Vicegerents upon earth*, fearing that because of the Popes unjust Challenge to be *Christs universall vicar upon earth*, it should usher in a subordination of the Crown to the Mytter. They scruple without just cause. What need we to be afraid to speake with Scripture? It is high presumption in the Pope to challenge to himselfe the title or right of *Christs universall vicar upon earth*, by *Divine right*. There is no colour almost or shew of reason for it either in Scripture, or reverend antiquitie. The Pope, the Bishop of Rome hath no more by *Divine Right* (what he may have by positive ecclesiasticall right it is not pertinent for us now to examine and discusse) no higher priviledge (except it be in extent) then the meanest Bishop in the world in his Diocesse. Doth not *S. Hierom* say, *Omnis Episcopus sive Roma fuerit, sive Eugubij, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhogi, sive Alexandria, sive Tania,*

*ejusdem*

*eiusdem est meriti, eiusdem Sacerdotij.* The Learned and holy Father compareth, with the three great Patriarch (priviledged at that time by Ecclesiasticall canons above all others, with the Patriarchs of Antioch, and the honorarie Patriarch of Jerusalem) three of the meanest Bishops mixt adjacent to them, The Bishops of *Eugubium, Reginum, and Tanaü*, and averreth that by divine right they had *ion equissia* equall right, equall power Nor doth that hold better, that the Pope would make his transcendent and extravagant Jurisdiction over all, to be groundd upon a fancied eminencie in *S. Peter*, above his fellow Apostles *ordinarie* in him, *extraordinarie* in them, *personall* and *temporarie* in them; but so fixed in *Peters* person, that it is transmissible to his Successor, and he forsooth whither God will or not, must be the Pope of Rome. This paradox is against Scripture, Sacred antiaquite, and sound Reason. It is not fit now to prove it, onely to satisfie the Judicious reader, I content my selfe with the suffrage of that Holy Father and Martyr *S. Cyprian*, who *de unit: Eccles.* or singular, *Prælator* saith; *Hoc nique erant ceteris Apostoli, quod erat Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis.* He knew not these differencies these novators have coyned and forged upon the Anvell of their owne braines; His judgement was, all the Apostles no lesse then *Peter*, were endowed in order to their Apostolicall charge, with the same endowment of power, and priviledges of Honour. Would God, both sides in this and other controversies, would submit to the judgement and determination of the Holy Fathers.

I wawe the accurate discussing of these points, they require more time, and a more fit place. To what is said I adde, that although we would give to the Pope of Rome, to be Christ's Immediate universall Vicar in *spiritualibus*, in spirituall things There is no danger, and so to shunn this inconvenience, we need not be so shie, as to forbear to call Kings *Christi Vicegerents, Christi Loiments.* For if we should grant the antecedent the Pope is Christ's universall vicar upon earth (which is certainly as false as falshood it selfe) It is an *axioma* a lame consequence, to make this inference, *Ergo* all Kings Crownes are Subordinated and Subjected to the Pope and His Mitre. Their owne Authors, who advance His Power as high as *Lucifer*, do acknowledge that all power that was in Christ, *Secundum quod homo*, as he was man, was not collated upon *S. Peter*. They confesse moreover, that all the Power that was in Saint *Peter*, was not by him transmitted to his spurious and usurping Successor. They all with one mouth professe, that *potestas Excellencia qua in solo homine Christo fuit*, that power of Excellencie, which is soly peculiar to, and personall in Christ, was not communicated to *S. Peters*. They cleare and prove it by specification of instances;

instances : Saint *Peter* say they could not conferre the effect and efficacy of the Sacrament without the Sacrament it selfe ; nor could he institute Sacraments of himselfe, or in his own name, or others than Christ himselfe did institute. Do they not all of them give and grant that Saint *Peter* did not transmit the power of doing of miracles to all his successours ? So then, although it were granted that the Pope were Christ's Vicar universall, it will not necessarily follow, that in this, that Christ is King of kings, the Pope is his first immediate and universall Vicegerent.

I with the Pope, who claimeth so neare alliance and contingentie to Christ, would learne of Christ, *to be meek and humble in heart*, and so not onely should he finde rest to his own soule, but a great deale of more rest and quiet should be both in Church and State. It is very considerable, that in Scripture it is recorded, that whilest our Saviour was *Minister Circumcisionis*, the Minister of Circumcision, he both practised and taught that it was God's ordinance, that the Mitre submit to the Crown, and the Shepherds Crook to the Scepter: *scarcely well come in the world*, when he taught this by his practise, flying from *Herod's* persecution to *Egypt*, who might have commanded Legions of Angels against him to destroy him (if it had not been that it was fitter he should teach us true obedience) as at his Word, they published his Birth to Shepherds, and sung that glorious Anthem, *Gloria in excelsis*. Some, it is probable, may judge this to be the act and fact rather of *Joseph* and *Mary* than of Christ, and that they out of their feare and weaknesse not able to do better, did flee *Herod* and his malicious intent. If any thinke so, let him consider, that he hath not learned as yet that all Christ's actions and passions are full of mysteries, and nothing acted or suffered by him, in which there was not an over ruling wonderfull providence of God in mercy and wisdom : and withall let him consider, that all his acts and sufferings are our instructions. But leaving this, Did he not in his Ministry teach and practise it ? Teach it, when he commanded to render to *Cesar* the things that were *Casars* ; when he convinced the Jewes, who would gladly have shaken off *Cesar*, and his right, arguing they were by God's Law bound to pay *Cesar* tribute, because he was their King, and this he proved by their Coine, ( which with all sound knowing politicians is *inter jura Majestatis* ) which was printed with *Cesar's* face and superscription. Again, in his Death, Did not our Saviour Christ acknowledge *Pilates* power (that is the Roman, of which he was Deputy) to be from above ? Did he not rebuke *Peter*, who with his sword would have in a defensive way saved him from those bloody persecutors ? Did he not tell him, *He that killeth by the sword, shall perish by the sword* ; that

is, *Peter* although thou thinke thou hast a good cause, that thou wilt defend me, and by resisting open force, preserve me thy Master, thy Saviour, deceive not thy selfe, it is not lawfull by armes, in the best cause, for my cause, for my life, to resist lawfull authority; if thou kill in my defence, thou art worthy to suffer death by the sword, by him that beareth the sword not in vain. When *Peter* over-reached himselfe in this distempered zeale, cut off *Malchus* his eare, Christ before that offence should have been done by any of his, in his company, for his cause, will be at the paines to cure this wound miraculously. Would God, Pope, and papling, Jesuite, and Sectary, Puritane, and Presbyterian, would fixe their hearts upon these practises of Christ, by a singular wisdom of God so clearly and fully recorded, practised in Christs Nativity, Childhood, practised and taught in his Ministry, practised and taught when he was a dying, when he was looking death in the face, at which time the most sinfull man will neither dissemble nor temporize. I doubt much if in any act of Christ, during his comming in the world, and his going home again to his Father, you can instance any to parallel this, to exceed it, sure I am you cannot. And what I pray you can the Pope challenge more, than to be *Minister Evangelii*, a Minister of the Gospell; as our Lord was *Circumcisionis*, of the Circumcision? He shall never be accounted with me the true Vicar of Christ, who teacheth contrary to Christ, and practiseth contrary to his practises: me thinketh he looketh more like; and hath nearer alliance with the man mentioned, *2 Thess. 2. Who exalteth himselfe above every thing is called God.* It is very considerable likewise that in the Apostolicall Creed, which is so full, so briefe, and no thing in it but what is necessary to be believed to salvation, that I say in this short Creed, *Pontius Pilate* (whose memory is accursed) is by the Spirit of God which ruled his Church in setting this down, recorded. It is not for his honour certainly, but for our good and edification, that there it is said *Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate*, that we may learne, if we expect salvation by faith in Christ; we must submit to Authority, by obedience to what they command, if it be lawfull, and submitting humbly, and suffering if Authority urge that which is unlawfull and against God. And that this we are bound to, although the Magistrate be as opposite to Christianity as a Heathen, and the cause for which we suffer be for Christ and his Church. We will never helpe Christ nor his Church by armes against Authority, or Religion by Rebellion. If our Sectaries give us a new Creed, it will concerne them neare, with the expunging of *Christs descent to Hell, & the Communion of Saints*, to raze out this *He suffered under Pontius Pilate*. If their practises be so contradictory to Christs,

they cannot but *consequitive*, by consequence, be destructive of the Christian faith; where the reward of those are to be expected you know too well. It were better for you, not onely to expunge Christ's descent into Hell, but to annihilate Hell it selfe, which by a Close Committee you may resolve upon, if your *omnipotent power* can be able to doe it: I meane your *sanctified coordinate power*, which you have of late erected against *Soveraignty* fixed in the Lords Anointed, as in the Church you have erected altar against altar. God open your eyes to see your monstrous finnes and errors, and to give to you and to us all true repentance, that the fearefull vengeance of God overtake us not, and in the world to come be forced by sensible, eternall, and horrible paines, to acknowledge the truths which now we reject, although plainly in Scripture declared, in the most authentick Apostolicall Creed determined, and by the current and not interrupted suffrage of the Fathers, above seven hundred yeares beleevd. Lord have mercy upon us, and turne his wrath and fearefull indignation from us. I dare not to expresse what I feare, when I looke upon these outrages committed against sacred truth; How God and his Word are abused, His Sanctuary defiled, His Ordinances repealed, Mischiefe framed by the Law, sacred Persons violated, and the Lords Anointed fearefully rebelled against. My resolution is to desolve unto teares and prayers, and with my Master say daily, say hourelly, *Lord forgive them, for they know not what they doe.*

The weaknesse of this assertion, *that Kings are not Christ's Vicegerents*, we have as we hope sufficiently proved: It is high time now to discover the wickednesse of it. The purpose they have by this and the like assertions, is to reserve the managing of all religious affaires in their largest latitude to themselves; vindicating it as peculiar and proper, *quarto modo*, to their Conventicles, Presbyteries, and Assemblies. This Soveraignty they make to be so Soveraigne and independent, that all Kings and Soveraignes whatsoever must submit to it. This Soveraignty Ecclesiasticall may restrain and constrain the King at pleasure. It may repeale his Lawes; correct his Statutes; reverse his judgements. It may establish its owne, urge obedience, cite, convent, and censure in case of disobedience: And if they be not of power to execute what they decree, they may call for or command the helpe and assistance of the people, in whom is that underived Majestie; and to this purpose may promise, covenant, sweare to stand to the maintenance of their fancies against all whatsoever, and to defend each another, *contra omnes mortales*, with their goods, lands, fortunes, honours, lives, to admit no divisive motion (which is reall, and to be such, if the authority of this Church declare it such) whatsoever, to suppress whatsoever



is contrary to the good intended in this Covenant, and association, if it be in their power, so that this Sovereigne maketh every man *armatum magistram*, to be armed with power, and the way left to himselfe; for ought we know it may be *Ravilliac's* way, or *Guido Faulx's* way.

Surely here is a despotickall Sovereignty, and more then ever was challenged by any, the *Turke* or King of *Spain* without *Europe*: This is to tyrannize over mens soules, for no man must be suffered to live or enjoy any freedome, or life there, who dissenteth in the least point of their voluminous Creed from them; and if he assist not with his monies, his armes, his hands, to the losse of his life, *for his Religion*, he is either Prelaticall or Papistickall, and *for his affection to the States*, (a word incompatible with Monarchie, and of highest Treason) he is at best a *Malignant*. At pleasure of this Sovereignty every man must give the *Quota* this Sovereignty prescribeth, the Twentieth, the Tenth, the Fifth part, &c. must give loane of what monies they have by them, or upon banke, for the good cause, upon security of the Publike Faith, (*à non ent*, which is like, if God prevent it not, to ruine the Reformed Orthodox Catholique faith, and morall faith and truth amongst men) or what other they specific and ordaine. what a vast Sovereignty is this? the extent of it is immense; for nothing shall be without the sphere of this power, which hath no motion but eccentrick; no person without the verge of this Scepter. And good reason for all this, for *this is God and Christ's institution; this Sovereignty is the individuall companion of the Gospel, the holy discipline, the discipline of Christ, halfe the Kingdome of Christ, the undoubted note of the Church, the eternall counsell of God, it is the Scepter of the Sonne of God.* You see the effect of it, what a happy, what a glorious Reformation it hath brought with it, the like was never seene since the Apostles dayes: this Reformation will pull downe Antichrist from his Throne, the bearing of the beginning of it, how it enlarges it selfe now to be sworne too in England, will make the Pope of Rome, and his Cardinals knees smite one against another. *Quid verba audiam cum facta non videam?* Judge of the tree by its fruits, as our Master hath taught us, and we will finde all their good words, are as Jurists say, *Protestatio contraria facta*, solemne protestations, liberall promises, (you know whose custome this is) but slacke performances, would to God that had beene all; no, a world of mischiefs has followed upon it, and it is to be feared, that what is past is but *apex a stirax*, the beginnings of troubles. The most glorious Church amongst the Reformed, the staffe and strength of Reformed Religion is broken in shivers, where all things are lawfull except to serve God; and all Sects, all Schismes allowed, except the orthodox truth and ordinances of God. This

Reformation

Reformation is written in letters of blood, acted with the greatest cruelty; againſt not onely innocent but deſerving men, with calumnies, rapine, robbery, cruelty; that father, mother, and young ones, if they have not beene ſtarved with hunger and cold, have beene expoſed to extreameſt indigency, contempt, and mockery. I dare to ſay, no perſecution that ever was can parallel this Perſecution, for impiety, injuſtice, and cruelty. What heart bleedeth not to ſee theſe Kingdomes happy before, to the envy of other Kingdomes and States, to be the mocking ſtocke of the world; that the *Cananite* and *Perezite* rejoyceth to looke upon our miſery, to ſee the deſolation ſtanding in the holy place, and thoſe Kingdomes of late the deſire of all the earth turned into an *Akeldama*; and no other fruit of this glorious Reformation, but to kill Chriſtians for Chriſt's ſake, and to plunder for Religions ſake? Lord forgive them for Chriſt ſake, and remove our ſinnes and thoſe fearefull judgements: and I begge pardon of the Reader for this digreſſion or regret, which I have powred out with a ſad heart, and wiſh them no worſe then ſpeedy repentance.

For all we have ſaid of this Antichriſtian Sovereignty, whereby the *Puritan* and *Faction* would exalt the *Presbyterie* and repreſentative body above all that is called God; Let no man imagine that we ranne to the other extreame, to privilege a King from the direction and juſt power of the Church; or that we would encourage him, or ſet him on, like *Uzziah*, to intrude upon ſacred actions, proper to Eccleſiaſtical perſons, *Ex vi ordinis*, *In direction by the Word, adminiſtration of the Sacraments; binding and looſing, in interiori foro conſcientie, or, in exteriori*, by the ſpirituall cenſures annexed to the keys. Sure I am, no pious or knowing King (as bleſſed be God our Sovereigne is) will by right of His Crowne, which he holdeth immediately of Chriſt, uſurpe upon this; but on the contrary, as a *Sonne of the Church* will ſubmit to the Church his mother, or rather Chriſt in Churchmen reconciling him to God. Elſewhere (by Gods grace, if God give us life and leiſure) in a ſeverall Treatiſe by it ſelfe, we intend to lay open this point. In ſumme briefly we ſay, that men in ſacred orders, *In rebus pure ſpiritualibus*, in things meerely and intrinſecally of themſelves ſpiritually, have from Chriſt immediately a *directive* and *authoritative power*, in order to all whatſoever, although *miniſteriall* onely, as related to Chriſt: But this giveth them no *Coercive Civill power* over a *Prince*, either *per ſe*, or *per accidens*, either *primarie* or *ſecundarie*; either *principaliter* or *conſecutive*, *directè* or *indirectè*, *ſimple* or *absolute*, that either the one way or the other, directly or indirectly, abſolutely or reſpectively by it ſelfe, or *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, any or many in ſacred orders, Pope or *Presbyterie*, can convent,

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cite, censure, in case of defaultance, supply, and in case of not obeying what God in Scripture hath commanded, to covenant, associate, swear, and take Sacrament upon it, to resist him, oppose him, and force him to submit to the Scepter of Christ. This power over man God Almighty useth not, much lesse hath hee given it to man: *Psal. 110. His people are a willing people. Suadenda non cogenda religio, nihil minus Religionis quam Religionem cogere.* Nor doth that spirituall power which entirely we give to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, rob the King, as He is the nursing father of the Church, of the power Christ hath endowed him with, as a Christian King, *in externa gubernatione Ecclesia.* We must not looke on Kings as on others of the flock of Christ, although he may neither Preach, nor administer the Sacraments, nor bind, nor loose, nor give sacred orders, nor excommunicate, these are things onely proper to Priests, *Primi & secundi ordinis,* of the first and second order and degree. Yet the exercise of these things freely within His Kingdome, what concerneth the decent and orderly doing of all, and what concerneth *externum hominem*, by coactive power, or *externam gubernationem Ecclesia*, the externall government of the Church, in appointing the use of things arbitrary and indifferent, and what else is of this straine, are so due to the Prerogative of the Crowne, as that we must not rob him of it; nor may the Priest without highest Rebellion against God intrench or usurpe upon the King. A King in the State and Church is a mixed person, not simply Civill, but Sacred too: They are not onely *Professores fidei*, Professors of the truth, that they have in the capacity of a Christian: but they are also *Propugnatores fidei*, Defenders of the Faith; which is proper to them in the capacity of a King. What is the meaning of that, that in Scripture they are honoured with more then the stile of a sonne of the Church; they are called by *Isaiah*, or rather God himselfe, *The nurse-fathers of the Church?* This is not to be so scantied, as if there were no more influence from Kings upon the Church but by honour and riches; other great men may and have done the like, it is meant by some influence from their Crowne, their Sword, their Scepter. What meaneth that charge, *Psal. 2. 10, 11, 12. Be wise, O ye Kings, serve thy Lord with feare, kisse the sonne lest he be angry. and ye perish from the way; When his wrath is kindled but a little. I will beleeve Saint Austin more then all the glorious pretended Reformers of this happy Reformation, or Deformation rather, written to Boniface. Quomodo enim (saith he) Reger Domino serviant nisi ea qua contra iussa Domini sunt religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plenebendo? Aliter n. servit quia homo est, aliter quia etiam Rex est. Quia homo est, ei servit fideliter vivendo: quia vero etiam Rex est servit leges*

*leges iusta precipientes, & contraria prohibentes convenienti vigore sancien- do. Sicut servavit Ezechias, Lucos, & templa idolorum. & excussa que contra precepta Dei fuerunt constructa destruyendo. Sicut servavit Iosua talia & ipse faciendo. Sicut servavit Rex Niniuitarum universam civitatem ad placandum Dominum compellendo. Sicut servavit Darius idolum frangendum in potestatem Danieli dando, & inimicos ejus Leonibus inferendo. Sicut servavit Nebuchadnezzar, de quo jam diximus omnes in regno suo posito a blasphemando Deo legi terribili prohibendo. In hoc ergo servunt Domino Reges in quantum Reges, cum ea faciunt ad serviendum illi quæ non possunt facere nisi Reges. The passage is plaine, and hath more for the right of Kings then Iesuite or Puritan will allow them: who will have them to be *Ministri* and *Executores*, their servants to put in execution what they ordaine and command.*

To make *Pope* or *Presbyterie*, as the immediate Vicegerents of Christ, and to authorize them with a *coactive*, a *coercive power*, to confirme their Orders, to force Him to repeale His owne Lawes, and in case of defaultance or refusall, after remonstrance is made, or supplication as they call it, although possibly presented on the point of a Sword or Pike, to stirre up people against the *Lords annointed*, to Sedition, to Rebellion, howsoever they deceive the simpler sort, to make them beleve they die Martyrs, is truely the disgrace of Religion, the highest of Treasons against God and man, and to make poore people die Traytors to both.

If you make *Two Sovereignes* in one Kingdome, *independent one from another*, there is no more peace or quiet to be expected, then was in *Rebecka's* wombe, whilest *Jacob* and *Esau* did strive for the prerogative of the first borne.

Nay, if you make the *Sovereigne and Supream managing of Religion* and religious affaires to depend upon, and properly belong either to any *forreigne power* without the Kingdome, as to the *Pope*; or to any *power domesticke* within it, as to the *Presbyterie* or *Assembly*, you commit and entrust to their managing the *greatest and highest affaires of Kingdome and State*: and if you take from the King the *Regiment in Religion*, you take from him that, which in its owne nature is the mainest, the chiefest, and most excellent thing in Government, as may appeare by what is subjoynd.

Religion is the *base and bottom* on which all the steadinesse and happinesse of King and Kingdome are seated. *Religio & timor Dei solus est, qui custodit hominum inter se societatem.* It is Religion and the feare of God alone which preserveth all society, and consequently King and Kingdome: *Lausant. de Ira Dei, c. 12.* Religion is the base, and it is the cement too of all

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all other Societies; besides this, *Plutarch* saith, that Religion is *νομὸς πᾶσι δυνάμις* *νομῶν* *ἡ νομοθεσία*, that which bindeth all Societies together, and giveth strength to all Laws. Religion it hath a mighty influence upon Laws, it worketh hearty, sincere, & compleat obedience. Religion rightly ordered maketh the Prince rule well, and people yeild true, reall, and perfect obedience: This made *Aristotle* say, *Polit. l. 7. c. 8.* *μενὸν δὲ αὐτῶν θεῶν ἐμulation.* The first care in Policie should be that of Religion and things divine. Religion rightly ordered, is the preserver, nurse, and defence of the quiet of King and State. I say Religion rightly ordered, for Superstition is a mad and madding thing: *Seneca ep. 24.* *Superstitio error insanus est.* *Trismegistus* saith, *apud Lactant. Institut. lib. 11. c. 16.* *non solum deorum cultus*, Piety and the feare of God is the safest and onely defence of all things. Religion in summe is the onely thing to make private and publike affaires to prosper. Which things being infallibly true, it must necessarily follow that Religion is the most important of all affaires of State and Kingdome. How can it then subsist and consist with reason, that the King shall have no more hand or power in Religion, then to execute at the command of *Pope* or *Presbyterie*? to doe it or doe worse.

Christ did never institute such a Sovereignty in Ecclesiasticall persons, either *Pope* or *Bishops*. Independent from King and Sovereigne, with which they are invested with power from Christ, from above immediately. If it were so, the *Pope* or *Presbyterie* were in better condition then the King. The Ecclesiasticall Sovereignty hath the soules in subjection, under no lesse sanction, then with assurance of salvation eternall in case of obedience, and damnation eternall in case of disobedience, and both of them to be extended both to soule and body. Religion is seated in the soule, and is a mighty Ruler there: the civill Sovereignty holdeth onely a dead domination over the bodies. That Sovereignty which hath the soule in subjection, the conscience at his devotion must over-rule Royall Civill Sovereignty, and shall be able at any time so to limit, weaken, lessen, yea disable it, that it shall be no more fearefull abroad, nor glorious and powerfull at home with its Subjects then the spirituall Sovereignty shall permit. It is most true and consonant to our purpose, that *Cicero* saith, *Orat. in Verr. 3.* *Omnes Religiones moventur*, men are naturally swayed that way Religion hangeth; we may see it in the furious Superstition of those distempers. Is it not verified this day in our eyes, that a multitude *vana Religione capta, melius variis quam divinis parces suis*, mis-led with an erroneous Religion, will obey and follow mad Priests sooner then their lawfull and religious



ous Prince: they will part with what is dearest to them to advance their designs, their desires; they will throw away their ear-rings to cast their molten calves; they will not spare to sacrifice their children with the King of *Edom*, or to cut themselves with knives like to the Priests of *Baal*. People thus madd'd, and set on edge by mad Sectaries and *Shob's*, *Circumcellion*-like will at all mischiefe, spare neither Crown nor Mitre, Ephod nor Diademe, thing sacred or civill; fancying strongly with themselves that they fight the Lord's battailes, for Religion, for Liberty, and dying in Rebellion as men raging in a fever to dreame they die Martyrs, when they die Traytors to God and to his Anointed.

*Diodorus Sicul. lib. 6. cap. 10.* relateth a story very apposite to this purpose, that the priests of *Jupiter* in the Island *Meros* compassed with the river *Nilus*, by this sovereignty kept the people of *Ethiopia* in so superstitious obedience, so absolute and blinde dependence upon them, that at pleasure, they commanded the killing of the King by their own Subjects, none of them daring to deny or delay to put in execution what the priests commanded: this continued long, till *Ergamenes* a wise King of *Ethiopia*, sensible of this damnable and impious extravagant sovereignty, waiting his opportunity, secretly surpris'd them all, priests and profession. We need not referre you to the German Writers, and Italian, that you may see what mischiefs the Popes unjust challenge of Sovereignty above Emperours hath wrought in the world, nor to *Joseph. lib. 2. de bell. Jud. ca. 13.* or to *Florus* his slave *Ennus* by name, who pretending an immediate dependency from God wrought so much disturbance to *Rome* in power, *Flor. lib. 3. cap. 6.* Nor need I referre you to the Turkish Annals to learne what mischiefe upon this ground *Shacoen Lu* wrought; or to *Leo*, to read what mischiefe *Elmabel* with the people of *Morocco*, wrought against *Abraham* their native King. See *Leo lib. 2.* and if you will *lib. 3.* where you have the story, how upon this ground *Chenim Maunul* made the King of *Fesse* to quit to him the Kingdome of *Tomosma*. Heathenish, Turkish, Jewish, Christian stories witnesse that where a sovereignty religious, independent is erected within a Kingdome, or without it, the Temporall and Civill must submit. We need not, I say, referre you to these stories, Jewish, Echnish, or Turkish, we may see the dolefull effects, this tenet with it's practice hath brought upon these Kingdomes. The calamities which the Authors and abettours of these paradoxes have brought upon us, and the present distemper and distresse we are cast into, if they surpass not certainly in their due proportion, are equal to those we have recorded in authentick story were set on foot betwixt *Gregory* the seventh, and *Henry* the

the fourth; betwixt *Innocent* the fourth, and *Frederick*; betwixt *Boniface* the eighth, and *Philip* King of *France*. The Puritane and Presbytery by their independent Ecclesiasticall sovereignty will act as much mischief ere it be long, if God in mercy stop not the current of their fury and malice; as in many ages past, the Pope of *Rome* hath done by his unjust and usurped tyranny over and above Kings. It feareth me, the Tragedies of *Munster* and this time shall never be forgotten.

Let the Christian Reader whose affection is right, and whose judgement is not perverted, judge how happy was our case when Gods Ordinance had place, had power, Prince and Priest had their sacred due right, what plenty, peace, what happinesse King and Kingdoms did enjoy and rejoyce in. And on the other part, let him reflect his thoughts, and consider how since this sovereignty Ecclesiasticall hath been elsewhere erected, maintained; how here a Sovereignty civill, co-ordinate, collaterall to royall Sovereignty is set up. And withall let the judicious Reader see how both the one and the other do concur to the destruction of Episcopacy, to the lessening certainly, if not the totall overthrowing of Monarchy; but differ extremely in this sovereignty Ecclesiasticall, for in the one Kingdome the Presbytery, the Assembly is so soveraigne, so independent in Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall things, that it giveth Lawes, Orders to the Sovereigne Prince, and Parliament, and demandeth as due a *sauius* a confirmation of them, civill sanction, and execution upon refractaries and delinquents. In the other, the co-ordinate power erected, over-ruleth, controlleth, and at pleasure directeth what they in their infallible judgement and answerable jurisdiction, judge orthodox in faith, right for the worship, and orderly for Canons of Government.

The last middle in *spiritualibus*; in things meerly Spirituall and Ecclesiasticall, in *ordine ad civilia*, in order to the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdomes. The other hath so enlarged its jurisdiction and sovereignty Ecclesiasticall, that it trencheth upon and medleth with things meerly civill, but in *ordine ad spiritualia*, as related to Religion and the Church. Both the one and the other are of equall extent, for this in *ordine ad civilia*, on the one part, and in *ordine ad spiritualia* on the other, are such relative and respective termes and distinctions as cannot admit, and authorise Church-men to do, act, and meddle in matters of State of highest concernment; and Lay-men again, to do the like in things most Spirituall, and by divine right reserved for men in sacred Orders. So long as such tenets are maintained, and with practices accordingly strengthened, wee cannot expect Gods blessing on Church or State. To both the one and the other God

may justly say, *Qui hoc requisivit à vobis?* Who hath required these things of your hands? And where God's Ordinance is nor, and his own Ordinance is infringed, that men intrude upon that is not their right, or usurpe upon sacred right, his blessing is not to be expected. Again, weaverre confidently, till this *Babel* be beat down, there will never be peace nor quiet in Church or Kingdome, nor shall private men enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace.

If this co-ordinate, usurped, and new-fancied sovereignty usurpe so much upon God and the Churches right, we shall become a mocking stocke to the Roman Church. If the other independent, ecclesiasticall sovereignty obtain, it is not to be doubted but that immunity Ecclesiasticall of sacred persons and their goods shall not onely be established, but also raised to a higher strain and pitch than Romanists do claime it. This I say cannot but undoubtedly follow upon their principles and practises, if there were not some hope, that those creatures whom God never made, and Christ never instituted, *Lay Elders* I meane, oppose not and retard the course; who are invested with sacred power, to determine truth in controversies and mysteries of highest concernment in Councils; to establish Canons; to prescribe a *Forme of Worship*; a *Catechisme*; to have the power of the *Keyes* in all censures Ecclesiasticall: in summe, in all things Ecclesiasticall to have no lesse power, no lesse a voice not onely deliberative but decisive, then Priests or Ministers as they are pleased to call them; these *Lay Elders* are debarred from no thing, but onely publique Preaching, and Administration of the Sacraments; Baptisme, and the Eucharist; it is expected if the independent Ministerie, another head of this *Hydra* become the prevalent part, they will juttle the Presbyterian out of this, and restore all the *Layty*, who in their Divinity are no lesse the *Lords Anointed than Prince, Priest, or Prophet*. There is some hope, I say that these *Lay Elders*, a *non ens* in Scripture, and never known to antiquity, will curbe them, that they shall not have way for such a vast immunity, finding already by sad and feeling experience what a measure of patience is required to beare their insolency, and what prudence is necessary to disappoint their ambitious and pragmaticall ends.

There is enough said to lay open the weaknesse and wickednesse of this *Antichristian tenet*, that *Kings are Gods but not Christs Vicegerents*. They cry out much against the Pope; to whom they do better service than they are aware of, (I pray God they were as real and true enemies to Popery, as moderate and Orthodox Protestants are, whom the Pope seareth more than them, and with just reason) and seeing I have not much hope that

that what is said will worke much upon them, let me tell them that in their tenet and practise they are worse than the good Popes were, and I dare say, all to *Gregory the great*, and he himselfe heare it from his mouth, and startle not at it, he was a better Christian than any of your Sect or Sectaries) thus he writeth, *Lib. 3. Epist. 61. to Maurice the Emperour, Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: Ecce pro me respondebis Christus dicens, Ego te de notario comitem excubitorum: de comite Casarem; de Casare Imperatorem feci. Sacerdotes meos manus tua commisi, & tu a servitio meo milites tuos subtrahis: Ego quidem iussioni vestra subiectus legem vestram per diversas terrarum partes transmitti feci. Et quia lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minimè concordat; ecce per suggestionem mea paginam Serenissimis Dominis nuntiavi; utrobique ergo qua debui exolvere, qui & Imperatori obedientiam praebeui, & pro Deo quod sensi minime tacui.* And in another Epistle written to *Theodor. Epist. 64.* He saith, *Valde mihi durum videtur, ut ab ejus servitio milites suos subtrahat, qui & ei omnia tribuit, & dominari non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit.* *Maurice* was no bad Emperour, and *Gregory* certainly was a good Bishop; yet *Maurice* had commanded that none serving in his warres, or any Officer whatsoever accountant unto him, should be admitted either to sacred Orders, or a religious Monasticall life, without his speciall warrant. Reason may plead for the equity of this charge, because by the bounty and beneficence of Christian Emperours, men in sacred Orders, & religious persons, had admirable priviledges, which might make his Armies weak by flying to sacred Orders, and religious life, and exempt accountants from doing what was due in civill justice, *ex indulto Imperatorum*, not *ex jure divino*, by the graunt concession of Princes, and no direct warrant from God or his Word. What ever this was in it selfe which *Maurice* commanded *Gregory* to keep, and to intimate to all his suffragan Bishops, and to be published in all Churches within the verge of his jurisdiction; certain it is, in Saint *Gregorie's* judgement it was unlawfull and sinfull, for he saith, *Lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minime concordat*; and again, *Valde durum mihi videtur*; yet what did he? He made this Ordinance of the Emperours to be published throughout all his Churches; here is obedience; and although it did belong properly and peculiarly to him as Bishop to admit any qualified by God Almighty to sacred Orders. He submits to the restraining Ordinance of Sovereigne Authority, and I am confident did not transgresse. He pleadeth for no immunity to any sacred person in sacred Orders; nay, he bringeth in Christ himselfe, saying, *Sacerdotes meos manus tua commisi*; I have committed to thy trust, to thy power my Priests; and in this case which



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# PAGINATION

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L

CHAP.

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L

CHAP.



## CHAP. VI.

*That the King is solely dependent from God and Christ, and independent from all others, is proved by the suffrages of the Holy Fathers.*

**T**He Holy Fathers and Martyrs in the prior and purer age of the Church knew no other doctrine; they spake no other language.

We begin with *Clemens Romanus*, *Constit. l. 7. c. 17.* *ὁ βασις φοβέται καὶ τιμᾷ τὸν κύριον καὶ τὸν χριστόν ἐκ τῆς χάριτος.* *Fear or honour the King, knowing that He is ordained or constituted by the Lord.* It may, it will be told us, this is a spurious *Clemens*, and not the genuine that was Bishop of Rome; and if we alleadge *Ignatius*, it is to be feared he'll fare no better, for a great Scholar but no great Divine hath very now rejected all we have of him. I will therefore give some testimonies from such against whom this exception lyeth not.

See *Irenaeus*, lib. 5. *advers. haer. c. 30.* where at large he proveth, That Kingdomes are not of the Devill, but that all Kings relate to God as to their first and immediate, origin, donor, author; adduceeth some of the pregnant testimonies of Scripture which we have alleadged before, giveth the Devilla lye, who durst to challenge to himselfe the right to dispose of all Kingdomes: *Luke 4. 6.* our new Anti-monarchicall Statists had need to consider this, and whose children they make the people, to whom they gave the right and power to dispose of Kings and Kingdomes at pleasure. *St. Irenaeus* is so zealous, so fervent of God and the Kings Right and Prerogative, that he will not admit the good and heavenly Angels to this honour; nor will he admit that *Saint Paul* *1. Cor. 15. 24.* *Rom. 8. 3. 1. 2.* Higher Powers are Angelicall, but that the Apostle meant it *de his* (a cleare and full commentary to *Saint Peters* *discipulis illis*, 1. ep. 3. 14.) *quae secundum homines sunt potestates*, of humane and Royall Sovereignty. To this adde, that the Father in the place alleadged, armeth Kings with entire Sovereignty, and that necessarily to restrain the corruption of man: where he also expresseth the infinite good commeth to mankind by government; and leaveth Sovereignes delinquents to the Judgement and Tribunal of God. All these points you will finde by the Father, where amongst other things to our purpose he saith most appositly and pregnantly, *Cujus enim iussu*

*nascentur*

*nascuntur homines; huius jussu & Reges constituentur, apud his qui in illo tempore ab ipsis regnantur. Quidam enim illorum ad correctionem & utilitatem subditorum dantur, & conservationem justitie: Quidam autem ad timorem, penam & increpationem, quidam autem ad illusionem & contumeli- am, & superbiam, quemadmodum & digni sunt Dei iusto iudicio, &c.* This place is certa sedes dogmatis & sententia Patris, a proper place from which we may draw warrantably the Fathers tenet, concerning the author and donor of Sovereignty. Here the Holy Father is proving, *That the Devill is not the author of Kings and Sovereigne power*, He referreth all to God the immediate author and origen of Royalty. If the Church of Christ at this time, and he with it, had beleaved with our *Moraxque*, opposers of Monarchie, That all power was radically, primarily, and independently inher- ent in people, and from them derived to Kings, this was a fit place to ex- presse it; and we see he knew no more, but *Cujus jussu nascuntur homines, huius jussu & Reges constituentur, &c.* and it is worthy of our notice tak- ing, that God maketh and sendeth Kings, as in his wise providence hee thinketh for the punishment of our sinnes, or in his mercy and bounty to blesse us when we walke in his wayes.

Tertullian speaketh in the same idiome, writing *ad Scapulam*, he saith, *Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum Imperatoris: quem sciens à Deo consti- tuti, necesse est ut & ipsum diligat reverentur & honoret, & saluum velit cum toto imperio, quousque sæculum stabit tamdiu etiam stabit. Colimus ergo Imperatorem sic quemodo & nobis licet & ipsi expedit, ut hominem à Deo secundum, & quicquid est à Deo constitutum, solo Deo minorem. Hoc & ipse vult, sic enim omnibus major est dum solo vero Deo minor est.* The sense of it is, *A Christian is enemy to none, much lesse to King and Emperour, whom he knoweth to be of Gods constitution, and so is necessarily bound to love, reverence, and honour him, to whom with his Empire he wisheth all safety; for when that perisheth, is is like the world will be at an end: We honour the Emperour therefore so much as we are allowed by Gods Law, and as much as is expedient for him, as the man who is next to God himselfe: (Tertullian had not learned in those times that the Emperour or King was *Universi minor*) and whatsoever He was *reduplicative*, by reduplication as Emperour, He was such a one by Gods donation and collation, and was and is inferiour to none, to any, or many, but to God alone.* This Divinity of the ancient Church is point blanke opposite to the Divinity of these latter times.

Turne to him againe in his *Apologeticke* against the Gentiles, cap. 30. where he saith, *Not enim pro salute aeterna Deum vocamus aeternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum; quam & ipsi Imperatores propitiis sibi propter eate-*

vos mallent. Sciunt quis illis dederit Imperium; Sciunt qui homines, qui & animas: Sentiuunt enim Deum esse solum, in cuius solius sunt potestate, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi ante omnes. — Inde est Imperator, unde & homo antequam Imperator, inde potestas illi, unde & Spiritus. What can be more emphatically spoken? God, in *Tertullian's* Divinity, is no less immediate Author and Creator of Sovereignty, then of the soule of man. In præminence they are next to God, above all; their authority subordinate to, coordinate with none. *Rex qua Rex reduplicative*, a King as King essentially hath no constituent but onely the King of Heaven. Kings are solely and entirely reserved to the judgement, to the Tribunal of Almighty God. It feareth me, if *Tertullian* were living now a dayes, he would be traduced as a Court-parasite.

Optatus Bishop of Milvius was of the same faith. He writeth *lib. 1. contr. Parmen.* *Super Imperatorem non est nisi solus Deus qui fert Imperatorem: Quot verba, tot argumenta*; a short, a most powerfull expression. There is none above the Emperour, the King, but God alone; not any, not many; not the diffusive, the collective, the representative, the virtuall body; The reason is in naturall reason strong, Almighty God onely hath made him Emperour, made him King.

*Athanasius* his suffrage and testimony you have before, *cap. 5.* and with him you have *Hosius in epist. ad Solit. vir. agent.* writing and averring constantly, confidently, to *Constantius* an *Arrian* Emperour, *οι βασιλείας ἐδωκεν ἡμῖν*; God hath given to thee the Kingdome, the Sovereignty. If you will have *Athanasius* alone, take his testimony from his owne mouth, in his Apologie to *Constantius*; *ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ τῶν βασιλείας σου Δοθέντι*. But thanks to the Lord who gave to thee the Empire.

Saint *Cbrysoftome* lived and died in the same faith. You may reade him *Tom. 6.* according to Sir *Henry Savil's* edition, *Orat. 40. Orat. 2.* to the people of *Antioch*: There at that time he was *Presbyter*, when by a tumultuarie uproare the Statues of *Theodosius* were broke, and reproachfully abused. The holy man after a most passionate and plentifull regret, exprefeth the riot thus; *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἰατρὸς οὐδὲν*, that it was a wound so open that no hand could cure it. Then exhorteth all with *Job* to sit upon the dung-hill, to mourne that they were left to themselves to fall into so high a transgression: O! what expressions? what exclamations? what regrets had beene by that holy Father, if he had scene what we see to day, and heard what we heare? He subjoyneth *οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνθρώπου τῷ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ γῆσι. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟὐΔΕΝ ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀμείνων.* He the Emperour, who is so reproachfully abused, hath none upon earth comparable to

him in honour. He is the Head, nay, if anything be imaginable that can be higher than the Head, he is *apex vertex*, the top of the head, the crown, and that not of one, every one, any or many, but *unus dominus* of all upon earth.

Saint Hieronymus homologates and confirms what they say commenting upon Dan. 2. upon these words, *He changeth times and seasons, &c. Non ergo miremur*, saith he, *si quando cernimus, & regibus reges, & regna regna succedere, quia Dei gubernantur, & mutantur, & finiuntur arbitrio, causasq; singulorum novit ille, qui conditor omnium est, & sapit malos reges pati- tur suscitari, ut mali malos puniant.* Saint Hieronymus's minde is fully this, that Kings and Kingdomes have their constitution, change, and dissolution by the sole royall pleasure of God. And that in all, He is no lesse the Author than He is Creatour of all. Finally, that not onely good Kings are of God's making, but bad Kings too, and that to punish our sinnes.

No man hath spoken more home than Saint Augustine, look upon him l. 4. de Civit Dei, c. 33. *Deus ille felicitatis author, quia solus verus deus est, ipse dat regna terrena bonis & malis. Neque hoc temere, quasi fortuito, quia deus est, non fortuna, sed pro rerum ordine & tempore, occulto nobis, notissimo sibi.* In which passage Saint Austin vindicates the making of Kings absolutely to God, by a reason unanswerable, *Quia solus verus deus est*; because He alone is the true God. The meaning is, you may as well deny him to be the onely true God, as rob him of this prerogative of making Kings; and in his sense, he or they that assume this power to themselves, intrude sacrilegiously upon God's right. He amplifieth this, shewing Kings are not casual by hap-hazard, but causall, God in his wise and unsearchable providence sending bad or good Kings according to the exigence of time and the people, to blesse, or to punish. He resolves all in a *docta ignorantia*, a mysterious way, that howsoever we cannot reach the way nor finde the reason why it is so, as is well known to God, to which we are religiously to submit, and not curiously and presumptuously to enquire.

Turne to him again, l. 5. de Civ. Dei, c. 21. *Non tribuimus dandi regni aig. imperii potestatem nisi vero Deo—ille igitur unus verus Deus qui nec iudicio nec adiutorio deserit genus humanum, quando velis & quantum voluit Romanis regnum dedit: qui dedit Assyriis, vel etiam Persis; Qui Mario, ipse Caio Cesari; Qui Augusto, ipso & Neroni; Qui Vespasiano vel patri vel filio suavissimis Imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo, & ne per singulos ire necesse sit, qui Constantino Christiano ipse Apostata Juliano. —Hoc plane Deus unus verus regit & gubernat ut placeat.* A passage able to stop the devil's mouth: observe in it, first, that Saint Augustine will not

admit that Kings and Kingdomes are derived from *Pope, Presbyterie, or People*, but of him alone who is *Deus verus unus*, the true and onely God. 2. Next, that he will admit no more search, but to be content with his *places*, will to give it to whom he will, and in what extent for power and time he will. Thirdly, in *Saint Austin's* minde this is not onely verified of the Jewish Kings, but of the Assyrian, Persian, Roman, and all others besides. Fourthly, *Saint Austin* knew not, this new devised quirecke of *potestas in abstracto, & concreto*, of power abstractly considered from the person in which it is fixed, but *in concreto*, he averreth that both the power and person invested with the power are of God. Fifthly, it is worth our notice, taking that the holy Father specifeth onely *Empire and Monarchy*. Sixthly, the extent is most observable, this conclusion or maxime of *Saint Austin's* holds well, of all Kings whatsoever they be, Heathen, or Jewish, or Christian; if Christian, bad or good, sound in the faith or heretickes; if heathen, whether good morall men or persecutors. See and consider, how wisely and fitly he makes a *versus* a coupling together; 1. of *Marinus and Caius Caesar*. 2. Of *Augustus and Nero, Flavius the father and Titus the son with Domitian*. 3. Of *Constantine the sound Christian, and Julian the Apostate*. Seventhly, lastly, it is most observable that he will have all of all sorts to be entirely given to God, *Non tribuamus nisi vero Deo dandi regni aique imperii potestatem*. This *non nisi vero Deo*, admits no sharer no copartner. He is not content to say it once, but repeateth it again, and with an *emphasis*, a greater strength of expression, *Hic plane Deus unus verus regis, gubernat ut placet*. It is *unus verus Deus*, and the way of bestowing *ut placet*. This holy Father is most plentifull for this truth, for brevities sake I referre you to his 2. *Tom. Epist. 54. ad Adaced.* and to his 6. *Traictat.* upon *Saint Iohn's Gospell, Tom. 9. & passim*.

The ancient Popes and Bishops of *Rome* lived and died in this faith. See *Anastasius Epist. unic. ad Anastas. Imperat.* *Liberius* testimony is above cited. *Symmachus* writing to *Anastasius* the Emperour saith, *Memento te hominem esse, ut possis recte uti concessa tibi divinitus potestate*, Remember (saith the holy Bishop) that thou art but a man, that thou may use aright that power which God hath given thee. *Leo* in his Epistle to *Leo* the Emperour, which in the *Tomes of the Councils* is 73. *Magnum ergo vobis est ut diademati vestro de manu Domini addatur corona fidei, & de vobis Ecclesiarum triumphus, &c.* *Leo* knew no better but that his temporall Diademe was no lesse set upon his head by the hand of God immediately, than the Crown of Faith, and that God made him to triumph over the enemies of the Church; yet because a cavilling spirit, such as our Sectaries are  
inspired



inspired with, may cloud this passage by an amphibolous construction, I gave you a plain one *Epist. 13. writing to Pulcheria the Emperesse, where he saith, Sicuti Spiritus sanctus didicisti, ita per omnia potestatem vestram subiectionis, cuius munere & protectione regnatis.* Saint Leo knew not that there was any co-ordinate power with the Emperour, that it was solely and immediately subordinate to God, to whom he ought of due to submit and subje. himselfe, and that with good reason, because by his immediate gift and collation he had the Empire; and by his power was protected in his government. The holy Bishop raiseth this so high, as to intimate it is a doctrine taught by the holy Spirit; let the world and good men judge then, what spirit teacheth the different or contrary doctrine. *Stephanus the sixth writing to Basilus the Emperour saith, that He carried the image of Christ himselfe upon earth, vide Baron. Tom. 1. Anno 885. m. 11.* It is like enough the Church then did not bend to all Emperours *Christ's Kinsmen*. In brieft, in summe, was it not the usuall benediction the holy Popes of Rome used, writing to Emperours and Kings, to wish to them grace, all health and happinesse, *In eo per quem reges regnant, in God, and by God, by whom Kings onely reigne.*

It were easie for us to adduce numbers of Councils to prove this truth. The Council of Toledo, *Tolet. 6. c. 14. Nescit esse in dubium eius deducere potestatem, cui omnium gubernatio supremo constat delegata iudicio.* It is an impious thing and unlawfull, to call in question his power, to whom to rule over all is by divine judgement and decree collated. Amongst the Councils of Paris you have one which after that it hath produced many testimonies of Scripture, and namely some of those we cited above, to prove the immediate constitution of Kings by Almighty God, concludeth thus; *Constat ergo quia non a se, non voto, virgula brachio fortitudinis humane, sed vivente, iam occulto iudicio dispositionis divine regnum confertur terrenum.* This expression is worthy to be set in letters of gold: the Fathers there met together will not have the comming at Kingdomes to be from any act humane, any desire or endeavour humane, any power humane; but from the power of God, and the wise, the secret disposing of God in his over ruling providence.

If it could adde any thing to what is said, we might have a cloud of witnessess of humane and heathen Writers, who have been more consonant to found Divinity in this tenet than Puritane or Jesuite, or our new Sectaries. They never imagined *Alasphy* to be of so low a birth as to be begotten of any thing below; see *Ovid. Fastib. 3.* *Hamor* calls all Kings *Dierham*; *Alasphy* is like enough in his conceit to be their nurse-father. *Plautus* termeth all

all Kings *Humanos Iovos*. *Plutarch* not unlike *Saint Paul* in this, calleth the King, *ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τοῦ θεοῦ*, not *τοῦ λαοῦ*, the Minister of God, not the Servant of the people. Elsewhere he is called *ὁ ζῶν ἐν εὐλογίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ*, the living image of God upon earth; the image of his power, his wisdom, his sovereignty: *Dis lib. 3.* of a King speaketh thus, *αὐτοκρατορὶς ὅντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑμῖν; πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ κατὰ θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ νόμον καὶ κατὰ δίκην.* *Dis* knew no subordination to any or many, he did thinke a King was *αὐτοκρατορὶς, αὐτοκράτωρ* and that over himselfe, and all, and contrrollable by no Law; that he was not to be called to an account by men.

Because I value not these testimonies at that rate, as to sway the judgement where better proofes are not from holy Scripture and Church, leaving them, and having sufficiently by authority sacred and ecclesiasticall proved our conclusion, and overthrowne the principle of Jesuite and Puritane, I come to see whether reason pleadeth more for them or for us.

## CHAP. VII.

That the Government of mankinde, is established by God, and is necessary *de jure naturæ*, is proved by reason, against those that hold, that all Government is arbitrary, of the voluntary constitution and composition of men.

THE Jesuit doth willingly acknowledge, that Government, in itselfe, in genere, in its abstract and generall conception, is *de jure divino, de jure naturæ*, is by God's establishment, and by the necessary and uncontrollable dictate of nature. howsoever it is as true, that they hold *in specie*, that the specification of the Government, or restraint to Monarchie, Aristocracie, Democracie, or mixed Government of these, if it be imaginable or possible, is *ἐκ τῆς συνθήκης*, by humane constitution. Some in these distempered times have gone a little more wide in error than the Jesuite, averring that a difference of superiour and inferiour is an herauldry unknown to nature and the Gospell, solely and simply introduced by the constitution and composition of man. We will therefore by God's grace prove that Government is *de jure naturæ*, necessary by God's established ordinance, in debate of which we are confident it will appear that soveraigne

vaine Authority, whether it be fixed in one, as in Monarchie; or some few of the better sort, as in Aristocracie; or in many, as in Democracie; is derived from God immediately, and referreth to him as its proper efficient and constituent.

That God is the Author of all Government amongst his creatures, and especially of the Government of mankind, appeareth by reason. 1. The same who is the Author of all creatures in their being and existence, must be the Author of their subsistence and preservation in that being and existence. It is an infallible maxime in the Schooles, in Nature, in Scripture; *Qui dat esse, dat & conservare*: He that giveth being is the same that preserveth the being. Creation is begun conservation, and conservation is a continued creation: we assume, things made existent by creation cannot subsist and have continuance, but by order, by government; from whence naturally it followeth, God must be the author of this order and government, and consequently hath not left it arbitrary to man by composition and consent to do it. Authority strengtheneth this reason. Saint *Augustine* writing against *Faustus*, saith, *Eternâ lege juberi, ut ordo naturalis conservetur*; It is not arbitrary (in *S. Austin's* mind) to man whether government or not; for what is *Arbitrari*, by humane constitution, if we will believe the Prince of Philosophers, is arbitrary; but in his judgement *jubetur*, it is *jussum* a commanded, a necessary thing; and that *eternâ lege*, by an inevitable irrepealable ordinance, which nothing temporary can make void. But what is this I pray you? the holy Father telleth you, *Ue ordo naturalis conservetur*, that the order God in nature hath established be preserved and conserved. If this come not home enough, take it with a full commentary from *Anselme*, who lived long after him, and in whose dayes this tenet lived in vigor: upon 1. Cor. 15, he saith, *Omnibus notum sit nullum principum, nullâque potestatem & virtutem, sive celestium, sive terrestrium, per se habuisse aliquod principatum, vel potestatis, aut virtutis, sed ab illo à quo sunt omnia, non solum ut sint, sed etiam ut ordinata sint*. Be it knowne to all men, saith the holy man, that none invested with Sovereignty, Dominion, or Power, hath either Principality, or Dominion, or Power by himselfe, but solely from him by whom they have not onely their being in nature, but also to be so ordered for their better being and preservation by order. If Saint *Augustine's* first passage above cited be not cleare enough, full enough, heare him speake for himselfe, *Lib. 3. Confess. cap. 8. Generale pactum est societatis humana obedire regibus suis*: It is a naturall, a generall, a universall Compact, Covenant of humane society, to obey their Kings. In the Fathers Dialect, *Generale pactum* is the dictate of nature, and he that



hath also established them for ever, *He hath made a decree that shall not pass.*

Doe we not see all the creatures established in a subordination one to another? See we not in the livelesse and senselesse creatures that the inferior giveth a tacite reverence and silent obedience to the superiour? See we not upon the other part, that the superiour creature hath a powerfull and effectuall influence upon the inferior to its good and being, without which it could neither subsist, nor act, what is fitting and convenient to its nature? In this subordination, doe we not see that from the lowest we ascend to a superiour, from one superiour to another, till at last we come to *One Supreme*, which receiveth nothing to better it from any inferior at all, but onely due reverence and obedience, and notwithstanding hath a *powerfull and benigne* influence upon all beneath it? From whence, I pray you, is this but from the sacred and inviolable God of nature? The impartiall may judge how much this pleadeth for the excellency of Monarchy; and how like it is to that order God hath established *in the universe*. Looke up to Heaven, consider those blessed and happy Angels in the Heavens; is there not there this established order, with this subordination; and probably is consummated at last in a excellent one, supereminent to all? For this I will not contentiously contend, order and superiority with inferiority, I am confident no intelligent moderate Divint will deny. How can it then be conceived, that God hath left it to the simple conceit and composition of man, to make and establish a heraldry of *Sub* and *Supra*, of one above another, which neither Nature nor the Gospel doth warrant? To leave it thus arbitrary, that upon this presupposed principle, mankind may be without government at all; which paradox cannot be maintained, seeing without order (which naturally and intrinsically includeth in it a priority and posteriority, a superiority and inferiority, a *Sub* and *Supra*) neither *being nor happy being* can be preserved; which happinesse is more requisite for man; by that he is a rationall creature; and more necessary for us here, then for the intellectuall spirits of Angels in Heaven, who have the presence and direction of Almighty God, in whose presence they stand, and whose commands they expect and performe.

Not is it probable, to my poore thinking, that when God Almighty in the government of all things under the cope of Heaven, (I meane bodily) hath made the superiour to have by his established ordinance a native inherent superiority, with a powerfull and benigne influence upon its inferior, which is no wayes derived from the inferior by communication, in what proportion it will, and resumable upon such exigents as the inferior



listeth, hath left to the multitude the community, the collective, the representative or virtuall body, to derive from it selfe and communicate *Soveraignty*; whether in one, or few, or more in that measure and proportion please them, which they may resume at pleasure, at least in such exigent cases, which sometimes really may be, but oftner are fancies to be such: because upon these grounds presupposed, reverence and obedience cannot but be uncertaine; and the Sovereigne disabled from giving and communicating that influence which is necessary for the preservation of all and every inferior.

I humbly intreat those who are contrary minded to consider seriously; how Almighty God in the creation of man, before the woman was made of him, and for him; and before he had any child or subject to governe, fixed authority and power for government in the person of *Adam*. This to averre, that government was fixed in a governor before hee had over whom he was to beare rule, is no paradox in Philosophie, (if I pleased to insist philosophically to cleare it) nor a more strange thing to consider, then when a *Posthumus*, one borne after the death of his father, by right inheriteth his fathers honour and revenues. Is it not very considerable that God did not make *Eva* of the earth, as he did *Adam*, but made her of the man; and declareth too, made her for man? It is more then probable then, God in his wisdom did not thinke it fit (that he was able to doe it I hope none dare to deny) to make two independent; and liked best of all governments of mankind, *The Sovereignty of one*, and that with that extent, that both wife and posterity should submit and subject themselves to him. If *Adam* had not fallen, Divines doubt not but government had beene. Government without subordination is not conceivable; nor subordination without the real relations of superiority and inferiority. It is not to be controverted, if *Adam* had never fallen, Aristocracie, or Democracie, or mixed Government, had never beene existent or apparent in the world. What speeche of Government had beene then, I pray you tell me it? *Et eris mihi magnus Apollo*. If then in *statu innocentie*, in the state of innocency and perfection God Almighty did establish government, and fix it in *Adam* before his wife was created, or a subject borne, is it not by this evident, that God judged it in his wisdom better that neither woman nor posterity should be, then that one should not be to rule all? The argument concludes a *minor, ad majus*, from the lesse to the more; if it was necessary in the state of innocency to establish it thus by Gods owne decree, how much more in *stato peccati*, in our decayed and corrupted state by sinne? And yet more to assure us, that this Sovereignty was not personally fixed in

*Adam.*

Adam, nor that it was lost by *Adams* fall, or that the state of sinne requires more convenient for it, another spece of government by more then one; after the fall it is declared transmissible from *Adam* to the first borne, Gen. 4. *Sub te erit apparatus ejus, & dominabitur ei.* Let any man judge then whether or not with reason it can be said that this establishment of *Sub* and *Supra*, Subject and Sovereigne be the onely constitution of man. And withall by the way, let any indifferent man judge what may be said for Monarchie it's excellencie and conveniency above other speces of government; of which anon, *Quest. 2.* yet for all this let none misconstrue me, as though I condemne Aristocracie and Democraacie as unlawfull governments. I am certainly assured, that when the Apostle said, *The powers that be are ordained of God*, Rom. 13. 2. and the emphasis, the force of the word *Summus*, which is *authoritative*, (as we told before) he recalleth us to the first order and establishment of Almighty God mentioned in Scripture. And by this we may be led on to consider how *Monarchia fundatur in paterno jure*, How Monarchie is founded in paternall Sovereignty; and the best way to finde out *jura Majestatis*, the Sovereign's prerogative, is to consider well what in Scripture, what in nature, we finde to be the true and naturall right of a father; onely probably, because of mans corruption and untowardnesse by reason of sinne, it is like God hath allowed more to Sovereigne power to enable and secure it.

Againe, to enlarge our selves a little more to cleare this point, seeing it is possible, nay, not onely possibly, but actually it hath fallen out so, that because of mens sinnes, and by Gods judgements following sinne, a multitude may be divided from their naturall Sovereigne, be dispersed by a Warre, a Persecution, or some other necessity imaginable, and yet meet in a strange Land, or some Territorie not inhabited; this case presupposed, I demand, whether or not this *Populus inconditus* would not condescend presently and necessarily to some Sovereigne power to governe and protect them? who can deny it? Againe, if all these were descended from one, or sprung up from one root, and their common father were with them, would nature, equity, and humanity, necessitate them to submit to him; and that from him it should be hereditarily transmitted to his first borne, and so forward? who doubteth of this? Well: I change the case, take them not onely as *inconditus populus*, a disordered people, (which is conceivable where a Head is) but as *mixtus*, without one common Ruler; that is, when they are a *varra nationum*, and *diversarum familiarum*, a confused mixture of more Nations, more Families, when they have not one common father. If they condescend that one shall have Sovereigne power over all,



together and alwayes evill, the mother and cause of all confusion and mischief.

The result of all is, government is necessary, as for the subsistence of all creatures, so especially for the good and comfortable society of men. This is not left arbitrary to men, but is by the inviolable ordinance of God established. Now if it fall forth so, that a multitude disordered, dispersed by any unavoidable necessitie, be without government, nature over-ruled by Gods inviolable ordinance forceth them to submit and subject to some to governe them, and to have Sovereignty over them, whether they resolve upon one, upon some few, or many: The designation of the person, or persons, is from this disordered rout, but it is God who investeth them with the Sovereigne power.

We cleare it thus: as, *Posito generationis fundamento*, when a father begetteth a child, *consequitur ex ordinatione divina & institutione, vel naturali, vel morali subjectio filii ad patrem*; it is necessary by the inevitable ordinance of Almighty God, that the sonne begotten be subject to the father: So it is by morall divine institution, that when any people have depured and designed the person or persons of the government, or governors, the collation and donation of this Power and Sovereignty is from God *effectivè*, effectually; and from the community but *consensivè*, because *consequitur ad electionem populi, ex divina & ordinatione & collatione*, it followeth and is inseparably conjoynd by God and his appointment. Take the like: A woman marriageable in her owne power maketh choice of a man to be her husband; her choice and consent giveth not to him maritall power, but this right and prerogative of the husband is from Almighty God; for who dare say that in the woman is primarily and radically maritall power?

Consider yet a little more; The King elected to be a Sovereigne to such a headlesse, a disordered multitude, as we presuppose, is surrogated in the place of a common father to the whole Communitie over which he is to beare rule. The Scripture expresseth him so, *Exod. 10.* Command. 5. *Honora patrem, Honora thy father.* The Heathen conceived it so; See *Aristotel. Ethic. lib. 8. c. 10.* and *Polit. lib. 1. c. 3.* *Homer Odys. 1.* from which two consequences unavoidable are deduced. 1. First, as the naturall father (suppose that *Adam* were living, had he not just title to the Monarchie of the world?) receiveth not any *paternall right, power, or authority*, from his posterity, or those are come of his loynes; but hath this from God and the ordinance of nature, which is *jus divinum* (as we have said) no more can the father surrogated in the place and power of the naturall father be said.

said to receive his Right, his Power, his Sovereignty from the Community. 2. The second consequent and consequence is, that according to the maxime of the Law, *Surrogatus gaudet privilegiis sui cui surrogatur*; and *Qui succedit in locum succedit in ius*; the person surrogated hath all the power, the privilege, the person had right to, in whose place he is surrogated. When a man hath no sonne by nature or issue of his owne, a sonne adopted is entituled to all the right, power, revenue, was transmissible to a sonne begotten of his owne body. A base borne sonne legitimated is invested with all the right, title, honour, inheritance, was due to a lawfull begotten sonne. The reason is evident, is pregnant, both the one and the other, the adopted sonne, and the base sonne legitimated are surrogated into the place of the lawfull and naturall begotten sonne. Why then, I pray you, shall not, should not the surrogated father by election enjoy the privileges and rights of the father naturall? Methinkes more, for the warrant of the two latter cannot be raised to any higher constitution then humane appointment, but the other of the surrogated father floweth and followeth the inviolable and unrepealable ordinance of Almighty God. For my part a King designed in such case, ought, should enjoy his paternall right, no lesse then *Melchisedeck*, or *Abraham*. I am the more powerfully inclined to this opinion; that I see in Holy Writ, that it pleased God in his wisdom and justice to transerre the right of the first borne to the younger, the surrogated was not one whit lessened in his prerogative and power, but had fully entirely what was due to the first borne, in whose place he was surrogated. Consider this in *Judah*, when *Reubens* right of primogeniture was forfeited, and he with his posterity invested with it, and surrogated in his place. See, read, and consider the Royall Prerogatives by the Spirit of prophecy bestowed upon *Judah*, *Gen. 49.* of which by Gods grace more largely, *Quest. 4.* The like may be seene in *David*, whom God preferred to *Eliab* his elder brother.

It is a ruled case in Law, *Modus acquirendi non tollit ius possidendi*; the way by which we come to have *ius questum* (as Jurists terme it) the right to any thing, (provided it be lawfull, otherwise that maxime is of undoubted truth, *Quod ab initio non valuit progressu temporis convalescere non potest*, long possession cannot secure an unjust title; it is not my purpose now to enter upon *Usucapio*, or *ius proscriptiois*) is not prejudiced by the way by which we obtaine it. *Jacob* had no lesse right to the birth-right, having it by a just title, then *Esau*. The Jurists give the reason of this, *Quomodo-cunque res est acquisita, possessio est de iure gentium*, if a man come at any thing by a legall title, by the Law of Nations, that is, by the Law of common equity,



equity, the possession or apprehension is entire and valid. Now apply all this, when a people disordered are without government, and destitute of a governour to whom by a title and right of nature it is due, condescend to designe or chuse one for their ruler, why shall he not? should he not enjoy, inherit the right of the deficient proprietor? and seeing the right proprietor had this right by God, by nature; how can it be, but howsoever the designation of the person is from the disordered Communitie, yet the collation of the power is from God immediately, and from his sacred and inviolable ordinance? And what can be said against *modus acquirendi*, the way by which such a one elected obtaineth this right? for seeing God doth not now send *Samuels* or *Elishaes* to annoint or declare Kings, we are in his ordinary providence to conceive the designation or election of the person is the manifestation of Gods will; *voluntas signi*, as the Schoole speaketh; just so, as when the Church designeth one to sacred orders.

In few words take all with you. God who made all things is the author of order, by which all things are preserved; without order there can be no being, but all must either turne to Annihilation; or to a confused Chaos. God in Scripture is no lesse the God of order then the Creator of all things. In Heaven amongst the Angels we see it established. Amongst all creatures betwixt the cope of heaven and the center of the earth it is, a sweet subordination, a sweet harmony is scene; the inferiour giving a tacite reverence, a due obedience to its superiour, the superiour having an over-ruling power, with a benigne influence upon all inferiours to it. Can we then dreame to our selves, that God did leave man without this meane of subsistence, that it was arbitrary to him to appoint and specify either no government at all, or what kind or spece of government he pleased? *Plato* in his Republick can tell such a man; that he that can thinke he may subsist without a governour, must either be God, or something worse then nothing. Hath God provided so for all creatures in heaven and earth, that he hath established a government amongst all, and that conforme to every one's nature, and hath he left man in some respects the most excellent and perfect of all creatures, the *Abridgement of the whole world*, the *Micracosme*, without this established order? Doe we not see that before the woman came into the world, or a child was borne, God fixed government in the person of *Adam*? Did he not secure it, that it should be transmitted to the first borne, that government amongst mortall men should be immortall? And seeing sinne with much more miserie and mischief hath brought into the world, that men should sometimes be driven from their naturall and proper father, King and Sovereigne, that for their subsistence in happinesse and plenty, and protection

section from evill and mischief, they are forced to chuse one or moe, and so surrogate him or them in his place, to whom by God and nature it was due to beare rule over them; that he or they comming in the place and power of the naturall father, or King, have his or their Sovereignty, not by a voluntary consent, but by a necessary act; and that the power is not by derivation from the Communitie, but by immediate donation from Almighty God.

## CHAP. VIII.

*That Sovereignty is not by derivation from the Communitie, is proved by more reasons.*

IF there were no more to disprove this popular tenet, *That Sovereignty in a King is by derivation from the Communitie*; this is more then enough that it is built upon a false ground, for it presupposeth and taketh as granted, that in the Communitie, whether collective of all individuals, or virtuall and representative by some in place of all, there is inherent a *Potestas activa reactiva*, a ruling active power, which is most false. If we will trust Philosophie, *Natura nulli dat virtutem sine actu: & cuius est potentia ejus est actus*. Aristot. de somn. & vigil. *Potentia sine actu otiosa est & inutilis*. And the light of nature teacheth, that *Deus & natura nihil faciunt frustra*: God and nature hath not bestowed upon any thing in the universe a power which is idle and to no purpose, as certainly that power must be which is never actuated. But now this power of actuall ruling was never acted by the Communitie, it was never scene nor exercised by them. The collective or diffusive body comprehends within its verge all and every individuall. Now how is it imaginable that in all the people in grosse, in commune, this *Potestas activa regiminis*, or *Potestas activi regiminis*, this power of actuating government is seated as in its prime, principall, and most proper seat and subject? Government intrinsically, essentially, includes in it a specifick distinction of *regentes* and *reli*, some to be governours, and some to be governed. If all and every one hath this power above mentioned, where then are those that are to be ruled and governed?

If they would speake rationally, there can no other power be conceived

to be inherent in the *Community* naturally and properly; but onely *potestas passiva regiminis*, a capacity or susceptibility to be governed by one or by moe. This capacity in the *Community* is attended with an *appetitus naturalis*, and *necessarius ad regimen*, a naturall necessary and vehement inclination and desire to submit to Government, by which it is to be stated into an happier and safer posture and condition. Just so, as *Materia prima* & *vaga appetit formam quâ actuatur & perficitur*; as the first matter (of which Naturall Philosophie speaketh) hath a desire to be united to some forme, by which receiving a particular determination to a specificke and individuall entity it is actuated and perfected: or as *Debilior sexus appetit naturaliter sexum nobiliorem quo perficitur*. This capacity in the Community, being naturall and common to all, and having from it issuing out a vehement desire to actuall government, obliges all *Ex vi natura subesse imperio*, by the law and dictate of nature to submit to actuall government; which desire or propension, if you reflect upon it, *præcise deinde a communis*, as it is in every individuall and particular person of this body, is not meerly and properly *voluntary*: because, howsoever Nature dictates, that government is *necessary*, for the maintenance of the society, for happinesse, for safety and protection, yet every singular and individuall person, by corruption and selfe-love hath *naturalem repugnantiam*, a naturall averfenesse and repugnancy to submit to any. *Singuli regnum in potestate gerimus*; the lowest Bramble willingly will not submit to the tallest Cedar: for this cause Saint Hieronymus saith, *Reus nobiscum praest*. It is despaire to attain at government that makes the greatest and most part to submit to government; and that they see and feele, that without government none can enjoy society or safety; this forceth that naturall repugnancy, which is severally and singularly in every one to give way to that universall, naturall, and necessary propension of Nature to Government.

This *appetitus naturalis* and *naturalis*, this vehement necessary propension and desire to government, is not unlike to that act of the understanding by which it assenteth to the first principles, of undeniable, of uncontrollable truth, which are evident *ex vi terminorum*, by evident appearance in the essentiall connexion of the termes; or is not unlike to that first act of man's will by which necessarily *fertur in summum bonum*, it is carried to it's chiefe good: both of these in sound Philosophie are not *actus liberi*, free acts of the understanding and will, but *necessarii*, such as cannot otherwise be: just so this consent and submission to government, which is the brood of that naturall propension to government, for the reasons above specified, is not *liber*, not so free, as it may chuse or reject, but in some

kinde it is *necessarius*, elicited by force, constraint, or necessity, that all and every one are necessitated to it by that necessity of obedience Nature hath layed upon them: from what is said rationally and by necessary consequence it followeth that this consent in the community, and every individuall is not *purè actiuis*, purely and simply active, but hath more alliance with a *consensus passiuus*, a necessary necessitated consent: from this then it is more than apparent, that by that our *new Statists* call the voluntary consent of the people, nothing is bestowed upon him or them in whom the Sovereignty is fixed; nor can the community be a donor of any right or power but in submission and subjection. It will puzzle infinitely our New-state-philosophie to make any thing in it's kinde passive really active, and collative of positive acts and effects; except that as they have changed faith, so they will overturne true reason: from hence it will follow necessarily, that by government established, the people and community are stated in a more perfect, a more happy condition. Solomon knew it well, *Prov. 11. 14.* *Ubi non est gubernator populus corrumpit*: where there is no governour the people perisheth. It is not once but often repeated in the Book of the Judges, when idolatry, rapine, and rapt abounded, *In diebus illis non erat Rex in Israele*, in those dayes there was no King in Israel. Saint Paul homologates this doctrine, *1 Tim. 3. 1, 2.* intimating that there can neither *peace nor quiet, godlinesse nor honestie* be where Kings are not. This naturall propension necessitated by these considerations over-ruleth and over-commeth the naturall repugnancy that is in every individuall, in every singular one. Again, this being the dictate of Nature, it cannot but referre to God as to it's immediate Authour, for God is the Authour of Nature.

Nature hath taught naturall men this truth, more shame it is for us, who would be thought Christians to be ignorant of it or to oppose it. Aristotle saith, *lib. 1. politic. c. 1. & 2.* that Man is by Nature *zōon politikon*, made and ordained for society. Plato in his fabled Republique telleth us, that he must be god and not man, that can imagine to have that all-sufficiency to live without society, and society without government is not conceivable, is not imaginable. The same Aristotle saith, that *Civitas est de natura*; that government is not arbitrary but necessary by the over-ruling command of Nature.

In brieve the result of all this argument is, that power to rule or act the Sovereigne is not naturally inherent in the Community, the collective or disjunctive body; all the people have is a capacity to be governed, with a vehement desire to be stated in a condition of peace and safetie, which cannot be effected without an union with an actual Government in some, to which

the

the Community submitteth and subjecteth *passively* more than *actively*, every individuall having within him by inbred corruption an *actual* repugnancy to submit to any, is necessitated to admit of government by force of that naturall inclination to preserve himselfe in peace, plentie, and safetie; this being most true in it selfe, and verified by the experience and inward testimony of every one who hath not shaken off naturall reason; How can it be made appeare that *this Sovereignty, this actual power to rule* is derived, transferred from the communitie all *collectively* considered, or every one *diffusively* considered, or from a *representative-body*, seoffices of trust from them? A countrey Clown can tell you, *Nemo potest dare quod non habet*; It is impossible to give to another that we have not our selves: and Jurists do tell us, *Nemo potest transferre in aliam quod non habet in se*.

What may be judged of their other extravagancies by what is said is more than apparant, How dare they be so impertinent, so impudent to say, that *in the People there is an undervived Majesty*? It is right down contradictory to Scripture, *Dan. 2. 37. & 5. 18.* It is said, *God giveth kingdom, power, strength, glory, and majesty.* More absurd is that, that they with brazen-face affirme, this Majesty in a King is derived onely *cumulative, communicative*, so that the people are not divested of it, but that *in certain cases* in some cases (which if they be not reall, people shall fancies them at pleasure) this same Sovereignty and Majesty is resumable. An old Philosopher would laugh at him who would presume to say, that a matter passive actuated and perfected by union with a forme could at pleasure shake off that specificque and individuall forme, and marry it selfe to another: they may with as good reason say, that a husband hath marittall power from his wife, and to gratifie that sexe, with which they are very prevalent, they may endow every wife with that power to resume her freedome and to marry to another at pleasure.

A third reason against this Paradox in State and Divinity is this, there is no warrant in Scripture, nor doth Nature teach, that God hath fixed all Government, Sovereignty, and Majestie, in the Community, as in it's *prime and proper subject*. The fittest opportunity to evidence this right and prerogative of the people was certainly when *Saul* was anointed and appointed the first King of *Israel*. Till this time God did retain the government in his own hands, and actuated it by the hands of *Moses, Jehoshuah, &c.* as his Viceroys and Deputies: the Text of Scripture is plain in this, *1 Sam. 8. 7.* God saith to *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee but me.* Again, *1 Sam. 10. 18.* *Thou saith the Lord God of Israel, I brought Israel out of Egypt, and delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians*



and of them that oppressed you. Verse 19. And you have this day refused your God, who himselfe saved you out of your adversities and tribulations; and yee have said unto him, nay, but set a King over us. Again, 1 Sam. 12. 12. And when you saw that Nahash the King of the children of Ammon came against you, yee said unto me, nay, but a King shall reigne over us, when the Lord your God was your King. To these passages joyne Gideon's words, Judges 8. 23. When they offered the Kingdome hereditary to him and his posterity he replied, *I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you. The Lord shall rule over you.* These places prove clearly a *Siozania*, God's ruling of this people by his substituted Deputies. When this extraordinary way, and peculiar to this people onely, was to cease, and a King to be established over them like to the Kings of other Nations; it was most opportune and high time to declare this native inherent right of the people, in whom is this nationall and sanctified underived Majesty, and to leave them by their right to transference their right upon him whom they judged most fitting and able to be King. But here *Nemo Lucilianum*, not one syllable for it, not the least insinuation: Nay, you have point blanke the contrary a virtuall destruxory of this imagined and conceited right; as at large before we have expressed and cleared: for Scripture vindicateth to God as proper and peculiar to himselfe, the designation of the person of *Saul*, and the collation and bestowing of royall Sovereignty. It is worth your notice, that Scripture recordeth, that after he was designed and declared King, *The Spirit of God came upon him*: which without wronging the letter of the Text may be interpreted of Gods grace enabling him for the charge. The very Heathen did acknowledge, that in Kings there was *Dei n*, something from above bestowed above the ordinary streame of endowments incident to man, which how it may subsist with a derivation of all their Majestie and power from the multitude, let them judge who have not made a divorce betwixt themselves and sound reason and judgement.

By no meanes let us neglect to observe, that God when he designed *Saul* to be King, collated upon him Royaltie, he left no other act to his people but to admit him, which was not left to their voluntary determination to admit or reject him at pleasure. Nor is that to be over-leapt, that God would not allow them by compact and contract to make their own conditions, to limit and enlarge their King at pleasure; but gave himselfe, to the subject *jus Regis*, the Law of the King to which the Subjects were to submit in the hardest case. He prescribed *Lex imperandi*, a Law and rule to Kings to rule and reigne by, *Deut. 17*. But at the admittance of *Saul* he giveth *Legem parendi*, the subject a Law of obedience and patience,

ence, 1 Sam. 8. which is so peremptory in the extreamest acts of tyrannie and oppression, that no other remedie is left but prayers, and teares, patience, and crying to the Lord in the day of trouble and oppression. Of this by God's grace more hereafter, 99. 3. 4. 5.

A fourth Argument against this popular error and deceit is this; if all Sovereignty and supreme power were originally inherent in the people, and from thence derived to the King; then undoubtedly Democracie were the best of all Governments. The reason is pregnant; that spece and kinde of Government which commeth nearest to it's originall, must be fonder and more perfect; but Democracie, which is the Government of many, commeth nearer to the multitude than Aristocracie, where some few of the better sort, or than Monarchie where one hath the Supremacie and Government. The nearer to the fountain the streame runneth more pure and cleare. This Argument cannot be well taken off; and it is a strong Argument changing the termes in the assumption for Monarchie; it proveth the excellency of Monarchie above all Governments, because it approacheth nearest to the Government of God, and God himselfe who is the Author of all Government; as the argument before is made, the conclusion is most false; because, howsoever all Writers of Politickes in many things concerning policie differ as much amongst themselves as Clockes, or our Sectaries, yet all unanimously accord and agree in this, that of all Government Democracie and popular government is the worst, and do preferre Aristocracie to it by many stages; which likewise enforceth our Argument for the excellency of Monarchie; for the farther you recede from Monarchie, as in Democracie, the worse the Government is; and the nearer you approach to it, as in Aristocracy, the government is the better. Some have a nearer approach to one than many, and many are at a greater distance with one than some few: which things duly considered and rightly pressed will bring home the conclusion, that *Formalis & completa gubernandi ratio est in Monarchia*: the proper, specificke, formall, and complete essence of Government is in the Sovereignty of one. Review and consider all Politicians whom you will, they will grant, that *Suprema potestas est in indivisibili persona*, Supremacy and Sovereignty is an indivisible and undivided entitie; How can you share it then amongst moe or many? Nay, this forceth them to make Aristocracie which is the Government of more than one, and Democracie which is of many; that they must be considered as *num analogia*, one by analogie, not univocally and properly so; judge then of the force of our Argument.

For any reason I yet apprehend or can guesse at, if Sovereigntie were primitively

primitively fixed in the multitude, and from thence derived to any or many, I cannot judge but that Democracie is the onely spece of Government warranted by divine institution; and that all other kindes of government are unlawfull, and their acts sinfull; or if any should attempt to change Democracie into Monarchie it were an high impietie: which things how they may be admitted, let our new State-Divines consider and declare. Sure I am Saint *Austin* was of the opinion, that a corrupted Democracie without sin might be changed into Monarchie; see him *lib. 1. de liber. arbitr. c. 6.* where he saith, *Si depravatus populus rem privatam Reip. preferat atq; habeat venale suffragium; corruptusq; ab eis qui honores amant, regnum in se factiosus consceleratisq; committat; nonne item recte si quis tunc extiteris vir bonus qui plurimum possit, adimat huic populo potestatem dandi honores, & in paucorum bonorum vel etiam unius redigat arbitrium?* *Enod. Et ita recte.* Saint *Austin* and *Evodius* agree in this, that if they who beare rule in Democracie do corrupt justice, and put the government into corrupt mens hands, and such as are factious, a good powerfull man upon such an exigent may mould the government into an Aristocracie or Monarchie. Good Saint *Austin* for all his learning and pietie knew not the Jesuite and Puritanes ground; that all Sovereigntie, and Supremacie, all Majestie underived was in the multitude, and that in their power it is to change the government to what guise they will; he knew not that this was to rob the people of their native and proper right, when one man should reduce Democracie without the consent of the people to Monarchie or Aristocracie; nor knew he that it was an unjust and sacrilegious intrusion upon God's right in the people to do it without their act, their consent, their compact. To this you may adde another testimonie of that Father, which virtually implyeth the same, you may reade it *lib. 9. de Civ. Dei. c. 21.* where speaking of the declination of the government of *Rome* from the second *Carthage* warre, and the restoring of *Rome* to her glory by *Augustus* comming to the Empire, he sayeth, *Hoc toto tempore usq; ad Casarem Augustum, qui videtur non adhuc vel ipsorum opinione gloriosum, sed contentiosum & exitiosum, & plane jam euerum ac languidam libertatem omnimodò extorfisse Romanis, & ad regale arbitrium revocasse cuncta, & quasi morbidè vertustate collapsum velut instaurasse ac renovasse Rempublicam.* The passage is very considerable. The purpose of the holy Father is to take off that foule aspersiō which the Heathen put upon Christ and Christian Religion, that all mischief came into the world since they were heard of. He proveth by the Roman storie, that greater mischief before was upon the Romans, and that from the second Carthaginian warre the Roman grandure

was in it's declination and decaying, and at and about the coming of Christ in the World was restored again to it's magnificence and splendour, by the happy Monarchie and Empire of *Augustus Caesar*: which happy change Saint *Austin* commends, he condemnes it not: and so do the Heathen Writers: which the Father could never have done if he had been of the minds, that no man commeth rightly by Sovereignty but by derivation from the people. It is not onely Saint *Austin's* but other holy Fathers observation, that God in his wise providence disposed so of the government of the world, as to put the best and greatest part of the world under the Monarchie of one, that thus he might facilitate the progresse of the Gospel throughout the world. It is foretold in Scripture, that Kings shall be the Nurse-fathers of the Church, our Opposites cannot shew the like of Aristocracies and Democracies, nor this day do we see it, or in ancient stories finde it recorded. It is most like, *Feliciter temporalis* happyesse temporall, under *Augustus* the sweetest of Emperours came into the world, with *Feliciter aeterna* and *spiritualis*, with eternall happyesse when our King and Saviour came into the world. Of this more hereafter.

Our fifth Argument to prove, that Sovereignty in a King is not from the communitie or multitude, is this. If this Sovereignty be natively inherent in the multitude, it must be proper to every individual of the community, if it be so, and must be so according to their Tenor, which is enforced by that other as groundlesse and false state-maxime which they hold and maintain, that, *Quisquis nascitur liber*, every one is borne a free man in the fountaine: then it will necessarily follow that the generation and posteritie of those who have first contracted with their elected King are not bound to that covenant, but upon their native right and libertie may start aside, appoint another King, and that without breach of covenant, or any just title in the King of their fathers to force or reduce them to his obedience: an excellent way devised to preserve King and Kingdome in peace and safetie. Might not the posteritie of *Isaac*, and the Elders living in his time, who contracted with the *Gibsonites* to incorporate them, although in a serving condition, have made void their forefathers covenant? And if this be true, How commeth it to passe that the progenie of *Jonadab* did hold themselves bound to keep the prescript and strict rule of their father? The *Reubenites*, it seemeth, had not learned this point of Native Libertie.

CHAP. 2. The other constitution of the Commonwealth.

## CHAP. IX.

*That Sovereignty is not derived to the King from the People, communicative, by communication, so that they may resume it in some cases, is proved by reason.*

**A**lthough we would give to our Sectaries, (which we will never grant) that all Sovereignty in a King is derived from the people immediately; yet we deny, and with good reason, that it is not by communication, so that they may at pleasure, or upon some necessary exigence in certain cases resume it, so that *habitually* they retain it, and are not *totally* divested of it; but in some case of defaultance, *supplint* they may correct it, and supply the defects of Government in the King, *extending* *Fabrics*, authorising *Parliaments*, appointing *Cloze Committees*, making and *Making*, *subscribing* and *swearing* *Covenants*, &c.

Their ground is, because all Sovereignty is by voluntary content and compact derived from the people to the King. This we have sufficiently disproved: to strengthen this, they equivocate in a maxime, *Constitutio constituit potior est*; the constituent is above the constituted in dignity and power. If they knew any thing in Law, or were ruled by reason, they could know that there be two sorts of Constitution; 1. The one is when *Constitutio ab initio est voluntaria*, & *non effectus perpetuus potest* & *voluntate* & *voluntate*; when the constitution is voluntary at first flowing from the free elective act of the will, and whose effect and force dependeth ever from the liberty and free will of the constituent; as when a King maketh a Vicary, or Judge *durante beneplacito*, enduring pleasure; or when a man maketh a legacy and leaveth to such a one after his death, he may make it void to morrow, if death prevent him not; except he hath appended the last condition, as Lawyers speak; in such like things, *Voluntas hominis est unibularia*, a man's will is not denuded of it's liberty to revoke or change; the will of man being, as Philosophers speak, *Quidam* *quidam* *Miles* and *Queda* of all her elective and commanded acts. It is a ruled Case in Law, *Nulla obligatio consistere potest, quae a voluntate promittentis statum accipit*: No obligation can absolutely live where all it's strength dependeth meerly upon the free will of him that promiseth. 2. The other constitution is, *Quae ab initio est voluntaria*,



*posse vero effectum habet necessarius*, which at the first is by the free elect and commanded act of the will, but afterward is attended with an effect of necessity, that maketh it irrepeable, irrevocable, as when a man maketh over the right of his proper goods to another, this is at first a voluntary action, but the donor having denuded himselfe of *in proprietate*, of his entire right, and the donee hath *in possessione*, hath apprehended possession, this act is firme and stable, whether the way of making over be *in titulo lucrativo*, or *in titulo oneroso*, freely done by gift, or for money and as good in exchange, or any other way lawfull, this act is no wayes revocable, although it be made to the disadvantage of the donor. If any should attempt to resume this againe, it were an act against common equity; Scripture pleadeth for this truth, *Psalm 115*. He shall dwell in the mountain of the Lord, *who sweareth to his hurt and changeth not*. *Ananias and Sapphira* might without sin have kept their goods which they consecrated to God and his Church, if they had not interposed the act of devoting or consecrating them; but this done, to detain but a part of it, (and it may be for some exigent case of necessity they preconceived) it was high sacrilege, and they payed deere for it. *Acts 5*. There can be no civill commerce, no truth or faith in dealing, in bargaining, if you open this backe doore, than when a man hath contracted, covenanted to his disadvantage he may resume it, and put himselfe in *periculum*. If it were granted that Royalty in a King were by contract betwixt him and his people, and resumable by the people upon the appearance of disability, it cannot stand but in all inferiour contracts of lesse concernment the like should hold.

Is there any act more freely done, then when a woman not subject to paternall authority, of perfect age, under no guardian, maketh choice of an husband, and as the father? and I pray you, may the afterward shake him off at pleasure? God forbid. By *Moses Law* we know the husband for jealousie or discontent might have given to his wife a bill of divorcement; that the woman had the like power we read it not. In Gods case which most nearly concerneth himselfe in the case of Idolatrie, the husband was bound to dilate, accuse, and witness against his wife; the father against the children; but there is no charge to the wife to accuse or witness against the husband, or the children against the father, a cleere evidence how God Almighty would have the inferiour in reverence, duty, and obedience, to carry towards the superiour, that if Idolatrie against God others wife could not be made appare. God would have no remembrance this way. God chused rather to suffer in his owne cause, then that lawfull authority should be wronged: *Deut. 17*. The eye betwixt King and People,



The Prince and Subject is greater, is stricter then any betwix man and wife, father and sonne.

If our adversaries will believe *Jurists*, they were of a contrary opinion, and did not imagine, that the people transferring all their right upon the Prince, did habitually or in any case retaine it or any part of it, that in case of male-administration, they might supply it, and in any exigent resume it, or make over the right to whom they would; over-lording their Prince, but that they were totally and irrevocably invested with all power conceivable to be in the people. Although this opinion hath not the truth of all the Kings right in it divinely enough, yet is it a safer opinion then that of late dayes hath beene taken up and maintained. *Ulpian* a renowned *Jurist*, L. 1. ad Sc. *Pauli*. saith, *Quod principi placuit legibus habet vigorem ut ipse extra legem Regia, quae de lege impono lata est, populus est & in eum omne suum & imperium & potestatem conferat.* *Ulpian* knew no better, but that The legislative power was in the Prince, and that because the King is entirely invested with all the power and Empire was in the people. It is probable he reflected upon the Democraticall government which was before the Empire, and so determined that what Sovereignty was in the Democratic, was with its full extent as entirely and properly in the Prince. *Ulpian* referred not any power to the people, for he saith expressly, *Populus est & in eum omne suum Imperium & potestatem conferat*; which ground laid, it is absurd to say, that in any case, or upon any exigent, the people or community, dis-solutive, collective, or representative, can re-estate themselves into that Sovereignty, so entirely irrevocably made over. *Pax ore domus & triumph*: Take another witness (for in Law, *Singularis est auctoritas*) and a great one too; *Bartholus ad L. Hoffer. de P. de Capt. & Post.* saith, *Tertio modo in dicitur bellum publicum, quod fit a populo Romano, vel ab imperatore, in quem transacta est omnis potestas populi Romani.* *Bartholus* knew not any power was reserved in any case or exigent to the people; and if you consider him well upon the place cited, the *Militia* and *Jura belli* belong to the Prince. To these two add *Seneca*, who knew no mixed government, but only three species, Monarchie, Aristocracie, and Democratic; *Epist. 4.* he writeth thus, *Interdum populus est quoniam imperat, interdum si ex civitate disciplinatus est, ut plurimum per Senatum transigitur, gratiosi in ea timemus Viri; interdum singuli, quibus potestas populi & in populum data est.* *Seneca* who knew not Monarchie to be from God immediately knew so much, that coming from the people, the King was so invested with the power of the people, and power over the people, that the people were totally divested of that power, and in no case no exigent had any power over or above the Prince.

If what is said be not sufficient, let us remember the storie of *Valentinian* the Emperour, when by the Army he was declared Emperour; they earnestly begged of him to joyne *Valerius* his brother with him in the Empire; His answer was, *ut me ad imperandum eligeretis in vestra situm erat potestas* *is*, *O milites: de postquam me elegistis, quod petitis in meo est arbitrio, non vestro: Vobis tanquam subditis compositis parere, mihi qua agenda sunt cogitare*. *O* Soldiers, before you did make choice of me to be Emperour, it was in your power; but the choice being made, that which you now desire is in my power, not in yours. It is your part and duty as Subjects to obey, it is in my power to determine upon what is fit for the government.

If all we have said cannot worke upon our new Statists to forsake their error, we pray them to consider, whether or not this ground laid will not authorize the Corporations and Shires, upon male-administration of the trust committed to their Commissioners in the House of Commons, or upon Jealousies and Feares, to resume and make void that trust committed to them, and warrant them in case of defaultance to doe better for themselves and Country. Sure I am, *Buchanan* one of their greatest Authours holds; that if a Parliament determine in a matter of Law, it can establish nothing but a *quædam*, a preparatory recognition, and that the influence of a legislative power is not, till it be approved and admitted by the Community. The *Observer* fearing this tenet of *Buchanan* may make void the orders of the House, leaveth here his Master, and averreth. *That the right of the County and Commonwealth is entirely in the Knights and Burgeses of the House of Commons, and will have their orders irrevocable*. A wonder it is that they are so favourable in their owne case, and so unjust and unquall in the Kings case: for if it were granted, which is most false, that all power in the King were by trust devolved upon him from the people, what is the reason of the difference that he shall not have that right as intirely, as irrevocable, as the Commissioners of Counties and Corporations? Reason pleadeth more for this in the King then them, for otherwise neither Soveraignty nor the person of the Sovereigne can be secured, nor any act of government determine; but mutable at the pleasure of an erring and inconstant multitude. If any will seriously consider, they will finde that what they take from the King they give to their Ecceles of trust, *Tæ Tables, so Parliaments*. These in case of necessity have an arbitrary power; the Prince in no case can have it, exercise it. Those have the entire right of the Community devolved upon them, and the people are totally divested of their native right; The King hath his only in a fiduciary way, some part substantially

bitually reserved, that in some cases the people may reforme it, may practise it. So in their Church it is not lawfull to a Clergy-man to meddle in secular businesses; Their Clergy, (if they be worthy of the name) may not meddle in all Treaties of Peace, Councils of Warre, in Commissions for reversing fundamentall Lawes of Church and State in other Kingdomes. This their practise is *Protestatio contra factum*, it giveth a lye to their profession. I think verily in after ages it shall scarce be beleeyed that amongst Christians, and such as would be accounted the best of Christians, such paradoxes could be maintained, and such monstrous practises acted, with such sacrilegious robbing of Prince and Priest of their sacred right. It is high time for Prince and Priest to strengthen one another, and neither of them to thinke that by making the other a *publici odii victimam*, a sacrifice to malignant malice, to preserve himselfe. It is high time for the people to consider, how by such doctrine and practises they are plunged in such a bottomlesse gulfe of miseries, of calamities, that none but *dextera excelsi*, the right hand of the Lord can rescue, can deliver them: How an Arbitrary Tyrannicall civill power is put upon them, and established in the wrong hand, that they dare not pretend to liberty of Person, or propriety of Goods: How such a Tyrannicall Antichristian Hierarchie of some few Patriarchs, Lords over their consciences, make them unne into Rebellion, and kill both body and soule. If these things, these most fearefull of all judgements cannot awake us, it is like we are given over to destruction, more for the terrour and example of others, then that we can expect to see the glory and mercy of God returne againe upon this Church and State. Lord of his mercy make us turne to him timely by repentance, that he may turne to us in mercy, make his face shine upon us, that we may be saved. To returne to our purpose, *Idcirco dicitur, ut non daretur ei regnum, sed daretur ei in fine*, let us still give it to them, that Sovereignty is in a King by derivation from the people, and the conveyance is by contract or covenant. But then I demand, how can this contract be made void? It must be made void either by *mutuall consent*, or by a *legall sentence and judgement*. That a contract may be made void *mutuo contrahentium assensu*, by a mutuall accord and consent of the parties contractors in Law it holds; the ground is, *Quibus modis contrahitur contractus, hisdem dissolvitur*, and the maine thing and binding force in a contract is the consent of both. The resciling of one partie contractor is not sufficient to void the contract. Necessarily then it is required that both King and people consent to make the contract void (whether a King may doe this or not, you shall heare more in the following questions). The people alone cannot doe it. This contract as yet is not made



isle void by Royall consent; if it be, you must make it appeare *authentice*,  
*in tabulis*, upon evident and written records. I confesse, ere I put you to  
 these paines, I desire you first to produce *Tabulas contractus*, this contract,  
 which in Law must be evident and faithfull; and when you doe it in any  
 of His Majesties Kingdomes; you shall have me to plead for your pretended  
 right. Well then, I hope you will not say you have His Majesties  
 Royall assent; although good and wise men regrave, that by reall deedes  
 out of zeale to peace; and more then fatherly indulgence, he hath indulged  
 to your favours, which lessen his Prerogative; and which without intrusion  
 upon his sacred right you cannot enjoy, if Scripture be either the Law  
 or Umpire to determine in this case. Seeing, I say, His Majesties consent to  
 void this contract cannot be alledged, or made appeare; (and the Law  
 determines, that *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio*, or  
*Quid non apparet, aut jure non est*) you must have a *legall sentence*. A legall  
 sentence cannot be without a *competent Judge*. Who is this Judge? For  
 my part I know none but Almighty God the King of Kings. If you say;  
 that the Judge is the diffusive body, or the collective, or the representative  
 (which I see not how it can be conceived without the Head, the King, yet  
 at this time I yeld it to you in your owne notion) and a *universall body*; I op-  
 pose, that cannot be; are they not all Subjects? Are they not all under  
 His Protection? Have they not all sworne or should sworne Allegiance  
 and Supremacie? How then can they be imagined in any other capacite  
 then of a Subject? How in any other notion, relation, or consideration,  
 but as the other partie contractor in this *imaginarie, notional, and fained*  
*contract*? How can it with Law, with Justice, with Reason subsist, that  
 you shall be in your owne cause, in your owne case, in a matter of so high a  
 concernment, Judge, Witnesse, and Partie? The highest that any as yet  
 have gone, is to faine a *coordinate power with the Sovereignty of a King*,  
 which in effect is a very bull, and is as much as to say, *Supreme and not Su-*  
*preme; Sovereigne and not Sovereigne; King and no King*. I deny not  
 but that it may be proved, if that your practise may interpret your power,  
 that you have runne farther, and reach higher in your Sovereignty then  
 any King, any Monarch in Europe, except you speake of the King of Spain's  
 power over all his Dominions without Europe. Never any of them clai-  
 med more but *paternum Imperium*; but with griefe we see this new Do-  
 ctine hath erected *Despoticum & herile Imperium*. I say the most you  
 have claimed to your representative body (and that maine of you) is a *co-*  
*ordinate power*; which in law, in reason, runneth upon equall, upon co-  
 equall termes. Now in Law *Par imperium non habet Imperium*, an equall  
 cannot



cannot Lord or Judge over an equal, much lesse an inferiour may usurpe it above a superiour. Amongst many other reasons why our Lord, *Joh. 8.* would not sentence the Adulteress that was taken, is *enough*, this is not an unprobable one, that although he knew her guilty, as God, and as *Man gravis visum*, yet he would not act the Judge and Witness: *Omnia Christi actio nostra instructio*. Learne of him to be meeke and humble, nay, just too; and challenge not to be Judges, Accusers, and Witnesses in your own cause: Imperiall Law, and Ecclesiasticall both condemne it: nay, the very light of nature made *Africanus* disclaime to be against the Defendant, Judge, Accuser, and Witness: The Casuists when they dispute and resolve the case how a Judge shall proceed in Judgement, when to his private Knowledge he knoweth contrary to that is like to be adduced, and the Judge tyed to determine *secundum allegata et probata*, that in such a case he may (if another competent Judge may be found) *examine personam publicam, personam Judicis*, and witnesse for truth, that Justice be not prejudiced. Fie for shame, that *Jesuits*, *Romanists*, and *Casuists*, although they hold many of our Puritanicall Principles, yet are not so impudent as our *Parsons* and *Seculars*.

To hasten to more proofes of the truth we maintaine, I give me leave to tell you, that I thinke, or fantasie at least, that this opinion that Sovereignty is seated in the Communitie, every individuall having its share, which by derivation from all and every one, is concentrated in the Person of the King, is not unlike that dream of *Democritus* and other Philosophers, who fantasied to themselves, that the whole *Universe* was composed and diversified by a *casuall continuance*, of what, I know not, fantasticall and imaginarie *Atomos*.

## CHAP. X

Wherein the truth of our tenet is by more reasons asserted, the contrary error disproved, and the absurdities in the *Seculars* paradox involved, are discovered.

**T**His tenet, that a King hath his Sovereigne power, *communicative*, not *privative*, from the people, that he is so invested with it, that the people have it *habitually, suppletively, and maj. resumpt.* in some exigent cases

cases, giveth nothing to the King but onely an empty and void title, which is not onely refumable as peoples pleasure, but so constituted and bounded with limits and conditions of their owne devising, that *first & second*; at the same instant and moment he both receiveth Empire and Sovereignty, and layeth downe the power to rule and determine in matters which concerne either the private or publike good. At the same instant (without prejudice or derogating from the honour of Royalty, be it spoken) a King becommeth a *Monster*, an *Hermaphrodite*, composed of a *Sovereign* and a *Subordinate*, of a *King* and a *Subject*.

Again, by this they hold, I see not how they can difference a King from a Magistrate, which with all understanding and knowing Politicians, are distinguished by their different specifick entitie and being. Nay, a Magistrate is stated into a safer and better condition than a King, for the Magistrate is to exercise judgement and jurisdiction by *knowne Statute and common Law*; The King is censurable, depofable at the pleasure of the multitude, as they fantasie him to have transgressed. The Magistrate cannot be censured, be punished, but by Law; The meanest, the basest of Subjects, may arrest, cite, convene the King before the *understanded* *Majesty* of the *Commons*, he may be judged by the Arbitrary Law that is in the Closets of their hearts, and that not onely for real misdemeanours, for real maladministration, but upon fantasied, apprehended feares and jealousies, and these not evident by any apparent act or attempt, but intended. If this be not to fear themselves upon the Tribunal of God, who hath reserved as peculiar to himselfe, to judge and discover mens hearts and intentions, I know not what else can be it, except it be that those Seraphicall Doctors make so bold with Almighty God to unfold the secrets of predestination, and to define who are the Elect, who the Reprobate. Any man that hath nothing left but common sense, will chuse rather to live the most private and obscure life, then to expose and oppose himselfe with an idle nominall title of honour, to the most corrupt and corrupted judgements and affections of an ignorant, unjust, and indiscreet multitude. I pray you, when neither the true grandour and splendour of Majesty, nor the sacred power of Empire, nor the highest pitch of reverence and obedience due to so sacred a function, and so sacred a person can shelter and protect him, who can be so demented, as not onely to embrace an empty title, *taxing* cloud, but runne the hazard of totall ruine and penennall disgrace?

I know what will be answered, good Kings are in no danger; this terror is onely a terror, a curb to bad Kings. The contrary this day appears, and ordinarily the best of Kings are most in danger. Who know-

eth not how ambitious, factious, and discontented spirits, are most ingenious and sollicitous, where no real and just challenge can be made against a good King, by specious and spurious pretences to incense and inflame with fury the crying and deceived multitude, who touch things present and at hand, and promise to themselves foolishly greater and better things by a change. Not unlike to a man sick of a burning and raging fever, imagineth this or that bed hellyeth in is the cause of his pain; change him to another bed, in his fantasie he expects to recover health, yet is disappointed, and putteth himselfe in a worse condition. It is easie for subtle and crafty spirits to make people apprehend so, because of the present sense of some little pressures or incommodities in the government. Which is unavoidable here, because we are not to expect to enjoy a *Plato's Republique*, or a *Mor's Utopia*; an *Emopia* indeed, that were Heaven upon earth: that is, there is no government where so completely perfect, that it wanteth altogether its incommodities; and none so imperfect which hath not with it its owne commodities. I may say of the most perfect and best ordered government, what the Fathers said against the *Pelagians*; *Omnia misra per se sunt imperfecta perfectius*: there is none so happy that hath not with the greatest commodities some incommodities; and so we may say with the *Colat*; *non sine cura vita libenda, auid a cum ista admittenda*. We must resolve to endure some inconveniencies in the best government, rather then disturbe and destroy government, and loose the excellent and sweet fruits we have by it. Hence they presse upon the weaker and less understanding, that more numerous people, the present scene and felt inconveniencies; and possesse them with feares and jealousies of more and greater ensuing dangers (*Arbitrio in parte, sed et Libet sibi idem praestare, ut omnia opera precipiant magnificum mercedem fallat*) that they ought not to lie under these burdens; and to be nakedly exposed to more imminent dangers; lest unprovided they be taken up and destroyed. When these malecontents have laid this foundation, then they raise the worlde by liberall undertaking, and like the Devill their father promise to the galled people, *Adiuv. 4. Omnia vobis dabo*: to deliver them from all their pressures, incumbent burthens, and imminent sinfull dangers. The people by their bigge words and promises conceive great hopes, cry up those *Lebanites*, those *Asaphs*, those *Shubans*, as he onely Worthies, upon whom should be devolved the whole trust and care of State and Kingdome, of reformation of State, of Church. To entertaine these false hopes, which are but false conceptions; *Adiuv.*, they perswade such as had no private ends, were onely publick souls, resolved to spend themselves, may offer them-

Offer a Sacrifice for the people. They speake as smooth as *Asaph*, and will be thought to desire nothing but piety and purity in the Church, and justice, peace, liberty, and plenty in the State.

When the multitude are thus bewitched, then they advance the worker, they desire the assistance of the numerous and popular part to bring this glorious reformation to effect: pretending the glory of God, the purity of Religion, the liberty of the Persons, and the propriety of the goods of the Subjects. The poore people follow *Asaph* in his Treason, usurping the Crowne, pretending he is about to offer a great Sacrifice to God; but intending to pull the Crowne from his fathers head, and pull from on vial

*Nemo repens fuit inopissimus*, when they have thus gained the popular affection, and are Masters of their hearts and lives. They strike not first at Royalty, but expresse their rage and courage in causing the great Summe of purpose to leave the good Prince naked and destitute of all good counsell, and by fierce accusing of them, and charging them with all the evils they fantasie in the government, to blow from the influence their counsels and courses have upon his Majesty, they prove themselves innocent to the world. They hope, making let them by their pieces, they shall make place for themselves, to make King and Government at their owne devotion: and before they faile in this, another government they will erect. They set on the furious multitude against men, not onely innocent, but well-deserving, making the people believe that they are the authors and abettors of all evil and mischiefes, whether small or sinfull, present, and that these are the onely rubs stand up betwixt them and a happy government. If they can make no relevant indictment, no legall prooffe against them, before some of them be not gone, new Lawes, new presidents shall be made never to be a laden case hereafter, and others shall suffer first as *Papists* call; but if that appears not, then as *Brablers*; but if this cannot be charged upon them, (a high crime truly to be accounted a maintainer of that Order Christ hath established to preserve his Church) they are incendiaries in State, *Malignants in Church*, disaffected to the true Protestant (which what it is not negatively we could never yet know, for ten of them can not agree upon a positive Faith) Religion. And such, say the *Archbishops* of this time, are the blood enemies of Church, of State, of Religion, &c. and so much the more dangerous because they carry their malignant purposes, designs, and courses so closely, that no prooffe can be made against them.

The People thus engaged, thus by fury enraged, cry out Crucify them, crucify them: are made guilty, and run so farre upon the score, as they cannot be taken off again.

5 If it fall forth so that *these Worthies* misse their ends, and others succeed in the places of the displaced; then they cry out, The malignant party prevaileth still. The Pilots are changed, not the Tempest. There is no remedy, power must do it, the Kingdome must put it selfe in a posture of defence; *Salus populi*, the safety of all, of Religion, of liberty, of property, and what is deare to us, calleth for it; for it is *extremum necessitatis casus*, it hath come to the last push. But I pray you who are the competent Judges to determine, that our end is such. None else but those Worthies, those who are animated with a publike soule, who are dead to private ends, have no more life, but what is to be spent for the publike, for the safety of it; who have already, as good patriots layed their lives, their honours, their fortunes at the stakes. There must then be a power in some hands (God knoweth the worst and that have least right) to command men, raise armes, seize all ammunition, command what supplies of money is necessary, for *so great, so glorious a Reformation*, to rectifie what is amisse, to right what is dis-jointed in Church and State, to repell the dangers incumbent and imminent, otherwise they are not sufficiently enabled, for the great worke; *the preservation of the King and Kingdome, Church and State, Law and Liberty*, and what else is really or imaginably deare to us.

In end an *Arbitrary Government*, that terrour of all popular terrours is introduced, is practised; true *Sovereignty and Royalty* is wrested from the true Sovereigne, and the thing we feare most is placed in a wrong, a worse, an unlawfull hand. The effects are more bitter, the charge is infinitely above all what our predecessors did complaine of in many past ages; the pressures are intended and multiplied, and totall ruine to the Kingdome is threatened. Only this difference is observable, that where before with a lesse bountifull duty, Religion and Royalty, justice and peace might have been maintained, nothing could be obtained to strengthen Sovereignty; but now we are become to lavish, so prodigall, we give twenty, ten, five parts of our goods, our revenues, spare not our jewels, our ear-rings, to make up a molten calf; so apt, so prone is our corrupt nature to a wicked course. And whereas before we were like *Rachel*, in the streets, in our shoppe crying, we are undone with Subsidies, Monopolies, &c. laying with *Africa*, we are robbed of our silver, which either we made or were to make our god; now in pressures voluntarily undergone, which infinitely transcend all pressures before seen or felt, we are as *Speachlesse* in the unworthy servant in the Gospell. In this we are not unlike to little children, who when they fall of themselves, and hurt themselves pitifully, cry not at all, but if any touch them, and they fall, with little or no hurt, they cry out bitterly.



You see then how easie it is upon this ground maintained by our Sectaries, our adversaries, to disquiet State and Kingdome, to unking Kings at pleasure. And that it is so, would to God the Lecture is read to us this time in the deplorable state of this Kingdome did not with much griefe and sorrow make it appeare to the least-seeing eye, and did not cry it aloud in the dearest eare.

That the best of Kings, most pious and just in themselves, and of sweetest temper, are liable to these mischiefs, this blacke day of ours confirmeth it; by-gone stories evidence it. Was there ever a meekler, a milder Governour upon earth, than *Moses the meekest of men*, sensible of no injury done against himselfe, zealous of wrongs done to God, and quicke enough when *Aarow* was wronged? Was there ever a greater Treason hatched and set on foot against any than him? *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram* with two hundred and fifty Princes of the Congregation lead the People to sedition, then to rebellion, telling him in his face, he and the Tribe of *Levi* took too much upon him. God to vindicate sacred Sovereigntie did interpose by a miraculous way, never heard of before, that the Heads are swallowed up living, in body and soule, into Hell; a fearfull example; the first rebellion we reade of, and so exemplarily punished; that *Optatus* Bishop of *Adilevis*, writing against *Parmenian*, observeth that the like is not to be found to be read again in Scripture. To *Moses* adde *David*, not onely a King, but a King according to God's heart, and one as apt and inclinable to pardon offences committed against his person, that the like you finde not; except it be the example we have this day before our eyes; yet what Treasons were intended, acted, and attempted against him, Scripture doth plentifully record. *Zedekiah* was not one of the worst Kings of *Judah*; yet was he so over-ruled or over-awed rather by his Lords and Counsellours; that he confesseth of himselfe, *The King was not he that could withstand them*, that he was forced to deliver up *Jeremiah*, the servant and Prophet of God into the hands of their power and malice. Many more may be adduced. *Augustus* the sweetest of Heathen and Roman Emperours; *Tiberius* the love and delight of mankind were tossed and beaten with the same tempests. It is infallibly then certain, that the best of Kings cannot be secured, where this tenet of our adversaries is maintained, especially when Divines do preach it as a truth revealed from Heaven, to avert that Rebellion is obedience; nay, a necessary duty which God commandeth; and Jurists and Lawyers hold it is consonant to justice, the established and practised Lawes and Customes of the Land; the Divine secureth their consciences, and the Jurist their estates and persons that they are put out of

all feare of evill here, or in the life to come. They will finde at last, that those blinde guides, with their people misled will fall in the ditch. God have mercy upon the poore multitude who are deceived; the deceivers have need of great repentance before they can have mercy with God, or should finde it with the King.

What a fearfull thing it is to put Princes, and the best of Princes most usually under this tyranny that the People may lord over them, needeth no other confirmation; but to consider a multitude in its nature, which is either the gentlest or tamest of beasts. *Quod non audens singuli, audent universi.* *Esse illethrus*, that this is the naturall temper and constitution of a multitude; *Ut serpiat humiliter, aut dominetur superbe.* *Libertatem quibus est, nec sperare modico, nec habere sciunt.* *Et non ferre desunt, in animis indolentes, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem adducunt irritant.* We need not English it, the expression is full in that we have said.

In summe, by these new devised State principles, no Kingdome, no State, can be long in quiet, in peace; no Kings, no Governours can be secured; by these maxims we may change Kings and Governours as often as Moones, learne the policy of the *Gurbers*, and practise it too, that if we be not succesfull in warre, or have not a plentifull yeare, or be troubled and infested with any tempest more than ordinary, all may be layed upon the misfortune, demerit, or mis-government of the King, and the *Jews*, like throwne into the sea to appease the tempest, another enthroned to live and reigne no longer than we please. A goodly ten ure for a King.

Another argument I bring against this paradox, which is this, by this principle, if it hold good, all title to a Kingdome by right of conquest is made void; for this cannot be said to be derived from the Constitution by conquest and voluntary consent. Notwithstanding Scripture is cleare and full for the lawfull title of a Sovereigne by conquest. Otherwise we must deny *David's* title over *Aram*, and other neighbour conterraneous Kingdomes to *Israel*. God by his Prophet *Jeremie* commanded submission, subjection and obedience to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and enjoyned them to pray for him, and for peace to his Government; I hope none will deny his right to be just, and that by no other title than Conquest. Our Saviour did submit to *Cesar's* Government over the *Jews*, payed tribute, and by his *royall* Privilege, the royall Privilege of Coine proved *Cesar's* just Title, that he silenced the *Jews*, as much at that time miscarried, that by their native liberty, and God's speciall favour they were not to submit to any stranger, as we are now adayes upon our fancied conceits. The Jesuites will not deny that

that Conquest by Warre is *summum modum acquirendi Imperium*; a right way to come by a Crown, if the Warre be justly waged; and grounded upon a good Cause: for prooffe see *Bellarmino de traslat. Imper.* and *Suarez* in his Book which we have often cited in this little Treatise.

It is easie to bring a great many more Arguments to destroy this erroneous tenet, pernicious to mankind it selfe; onely because we are weary of it, give me leave in the close to shew you that it is *morbis complicatus*; a disease, a distemper made up of the confluence of many together; and that it hath involved within, or adherent to, and coherent with it, a great many absurdities contrary to truth in sacred Scripture revealed, to sound reason and policy. I shall onely point at them, and leave the enlarging of them to the judicious Reader.

1. First, it is absurd to say and maintain in true Philosophy, that the *Communio* is *primum subjectum*; the first seat and subject in which Sovereignty is immediately fixed. How can it be said so, seeing in them it was never found, never actuated, never exercised? *Vana est potentia qua nunquam rediit in actum.*

2. Next, this principle presupposeth the most excellent of Creatures, Men, to be like *Adam* off-spring, *de terra nati*, sprung out of the earth; *factores a quibus creati*; or which is worse, in origin like to the most imperfect of living Creatures, *Animalia de putredine orta*; Creatures coming from corruption it selfe; which paradoxes how well they suite with the excellency of humane condition; and which is more, with the goodness and wisdom of God in the Creation of all; and lastly, how conformable to sacred Truth in Scripture revealed: if these be well considered, then I am hopefull our new Statists will forsake their errors.

3. Thirdly, this tenet of our Sectaries presupposeth, that all men coming into the world are *jure et potestate in natura*; by the right & priviledge of nature *originaliter inaequali*, independent one from another, without dissimilarity or difference one from another. This is contradictory to the Word of God, that teacheth God did fixe Government in *Adam*, before the woman was made, or children begotten by him. Is not every one that cometh into the world begotten of a father? Is he not thus by the Law of God and Nature to submit and subject himselfe in reverence and obedience to his father? Is he not then so farre from having *original power inherent in himselfe*, that he hath not his own *original being in the capacity of nature*, but from his father? How then can he be freed from subjection to his father? And if his father be subject to another, is he not by the same Law subject to his father's superior? Who can make this subordination void, except

he

he will ranverse the Ordinance of God and Nature? Where then is the truth of this deceiving maxime which worketh so much mischief, *Quisq; nascitur liber*, every man is borne a free man in the Forrest? Are they not subordinate, subject to their pre-existent father, and to his superiour too, if he have any? Is not the female sexe by the Ordinance of God and Nature inferiour and subordinate to the male? Doth not Nature teach, that the wife by the law of Nature is subject to the husband? If you will believe *Aristotle* in his Politickes, he telleth you that a man of weake understanding is subject to him who is more intelligent and prudent, and (if I forget not) that he is *natura servum*. But let us returne to vertues and vices again.

4. Fourthly, this ground presupposeth *Anarchia*, to be *de facto* pre-existent, really, and actually before order and government. Christians must believe, that as God created all things *in numero, pondere, & mensura*, in a complete perfection of all things, every creature having its own intrinsic weight and worth, not onely in its own due proportion and measure, but in a measure orderly disposed for its accord and being with the universe; and must believe accordingly that he hath disposed of all things in that order which establisheth an unrepealable Government, by which the whole universe, and every spece and individuall in the universe is preserved and continued in its happy naturall being. Who then can be so stupid to thinke that God Almighty sends man in the world destitute of this order and government, which is necessary for the happy being of the abridgement of the world, for whom it was made in a secondary respect? If the whole world without this order could not but returne to a confused *Chaos* and masse, and from thence to an annihilation, what other can be the condition of mankind without order established to preserve it? see *Chrysostom's* testimony upon *Rom. 13.* cited above. If they will speake philosophically, they must confesse *Habitu est natura prior privatione*, the habit in nature is presupposed to be existent before the privation. How come we then from our new State-philosophers to heare, that *Anarchie* was in Nature, was in the world before Government?

5. Fifthly, by the same ground, by consequence it will as necessarily follow, that *Jus patrum & jus maritale*, the lawfull authority of a father over his children, and a husband over his wife, are derived from the children and wife, and that children and wife in some cases may resume their power derived from them, and their native liberty. If any averre so, he is *Flagrit dignus*, to be cudgelled, not to be answered.

6. Sixthly, this tenet if it be not blasphemous, it is certainly sacrilegious: for to say that power is radically, originally, fundamentally inherent

in the Communitie, or as the observatour saith, that in the people is *an und*  
*derived Majestie*, robbeth God and Christ of his glory. Scripture decla-  
 reth them to be the immediate authours of all Sovereignty, glory, and ma-  
 jesty, as we proved above. Doth not Scripture expresse the immense Sove-  
 raignty of God and Christ over the world and Church, by the *compellation*  
*of King*? If you will have Kings then to be the *Derivatives of the peo-*  
*ple*, take heed you make not God and Christ the *Derivatives of Deriva-*  
*tives*, which any pious minde will be loath to thinke.

7. Seventhly, when the King's right is made to be such that the same  
*Sovereigne power is habitually retained* in the people, and the power in  
 some cases is *resumable*, How can you make the King's Title complete? Law  
 is against it, when the Donor is *dans & retiens*, as Jurists speake, *gi-*  
*ving a right, yet retaining it*; he maketh not over a full and entire right:  
 nor can the Donee lay just claime to it. It is a maxime without exception  
 among them, *Nulla obligatio consistere potest quæ à voluntate promittentis*  
*statum accipit*; the Donor is not tyed to make his Bond and gift good, if  
 at pleasure he may resume it, as we spoke before.

8. Lastly, leaving many absurdities more untouched, in the last place  
 we place it, which in our judgement moveth us most to abhorre it, that you  
 which believe this tenet, must either give us new Bibles, or finde out  
 new Commentaries to the Bible; for what you say is right downe oppo-  
 site, and contradictorie to all the Bibles we have as yet seen: our Bible  
 say, *Dixi dei essu*, I have said, (that is, God himselfe) yee are gods; &  
*filii excelsi omnes*, and all of you are children of the most High; your Bi-  
 bles (or some as authentique as ours) must say, *Diximus dei essu*, & *filii*  
*terra omnes*; we the people have said, yee are gods, and all of you sprung  
 from us, from the earth. We may say no more with Scripture, *Dominus*  
*dat & auferet regna*; the Lord giveth and changeth Crownes and King-  
 domes; but it is the people that do it. It must no more be thought upon,  
*di homines essent*, God to be demigods, it must be *God to be God*; that the powers  
 that be are ordained of God; nay, they are ordained of the people. Da-  
 vid was farre mistaken, who said, *Power belongeth unto the Lord*. For  
 Christ's *Potestati data de super*, saying, that power is from above, and by do-  
 nation from above, we must have it changed unto a *Potestati data de sub-*  
*ter*, that all power is given from below: infinite more of this kinde may  
 be adduced. Let me intreat our brethren to consider, how sacrilegious a  
 thing it is to rob God of his glory; who hath said, *My glory I will not*  
*give to another*; how tender he is of his divine Prerogative, to be *King of*  
*Kings* and *Lord of Lords*, not onely by his power over-ruling them, but  
 also



also effective, endowing them with royaltie from above; how dishonorable a thing it is to place it in so wrong a hand, so base a prime subject; how they disgrace Kings and Sovereignty, referring them to so base an origin; how they put them in so ticklish and lubrick condition, that better being any thing than a King; how by this meane they secure neither their persons nor functions, nor either can be truly or appellatively sacred; how they open a doore to all disquiet in State, in Church, to all Sedition and Rebellion; how they lead people on a way destruxtory to themselves, nay, to humane society, and consequently any being at all; how, finally, they serve the prince of disorder, and run head-long and head-strong to perdition; from which, good Lord, deliver both them and us.

## CHAP. XI.

*Scripture by examples teacheth us, that Kings of Peoples making, have not had God's blessing; but have ruinated their makers.*

**I**F any will look upon Scripture with ordinary observation and judgement, it will appeare, that when people have presumed by themselves to set up a King of their own, neither he nor they have been happy in that worke. There is reason enough for it; how can a blessing be expected, when and where God and Christ are robbed of their right, and the people presumptuously usurpe, and sacrilegiously intrude upon them.

The first King the people of *Israel* had, after that they were formed into a politick body, is *Moses*; who *Deut. 33.* is termed King of *Jeshurun*. To speake truly, the government then and till *Saul's* dayes was *theocracy*, God retaining the government in his owne hands, and actuating it by his Deputies and Vice-Royes. The people had no hand in making him King. He was farre from them when God sent him to be King over *Israel*. That his right was just, his government successfull, none will deny. The next named King is *Abimelech*, the base sonne of *Gideon*, and as basely created King too. *Israel* did offer an hereditary title of the Crowne to *Gideon*, after that he had vindicated them from the tyrannie and oppression of the *Midianites*. He did refuse it; He knew that was not the right way of purchase, nor Gods appointed time come: *Judg. 8. 22.* After his death the

Ishtar is made King, the first King we read of in Scripture, who was the creature of the people. *Judg. 9.*

Consider how this worke is hatched, perfected, and what is the end of it. He sets the worke on foot by his alliance the men of *Sichem*, to do for their owne blood and brood. Hee useth an argument that was strong enough in those dayes, better that he one and alone should reigne over them; then the 70 sonnes of *Jerubbaal*. It seemeth that the world was not then so much out of love with Monarchie, nor doated so much upon Aristocracie, as we doe now in this declining age. A speciall meane to enable *Abimelech* for the Crowne, and to effect this unlawfull Royaltie, they agree to enrich him with sacriledge by spoiling their Gods temple, and taking out of it threescore and ten pieces of silver. To make all sure a Covenant is made, it is sworne too; They were so much in love with this new Covenant, that they called their God *Baal Berith*, the Lord of the Covenant; They will have God to owne the Covenant, or then they Idoled the Covenant so much, that they would renounce God, if he would not be *Baal Berith*, the God of the Covenant.

What followeth upon all this? *Abimelech* enriched by sacriledge; strengthened by his alliance the *Sichemites*, they bound to him, not onely by the bonds of nature, but by a tye of a sacred Covenant, a Vow interposed, all *Israel* over-awed come to his side; and the first act of their power and goodnesse is murder, they murder the 70 lawfull sonnes of *Jerubbaal*; the engaged in mischief knew there was no safety, but to take away the right stocke, root and branch. Yet God miraculously preserved *Josham*, not onely to denounce Gods vengeance against them both, the men of *Sichem* and *Abimelech* the contrivers of this mischievous plot, but to see it executed. You see then, the first popular King (I meane of the peoples making) beginneth his worke (I meane his purchase of the Crowne) with sacriledge, a Covenant, and cruell murder, and innocent shedding of blood.

Looke upon the successe. He is made, he is constituted King, with an uniforme, an universall consent: an universall and uniforme consent is no sure argument, that the course so established is warrantable, and approved by Almighty God. Looke upon more yet, *Abimelech* becommeth strong; flourisheth, reigned over *Israel* three yeares: *Judg. 9. 22.* well neare Antichrists time of endurance, he Kings it royally, successefully. Judge not then of a course by a speedy, a universall, a successefull successe, to conclude it is Gods worke; and marvellous in our eyes. It is hard to worke great workes but with great time, our nature is averse from that, the Devill and

the World doe contribute their wisdom and power to impede a good worke. It is not so in bad courses; *Moses* could scarce discipline the people of *Israel* in the space of 40 yeares in the Schoole of the wilderness to obey God, but in 40 dayes they were able enough to erect Idolatry and practise it. The Apostle Saint *Paul* wondereth that the *Galatians* were so quickly turned from the truth of the Gospell. But to reclaime them from their errors, was as toylsome and longsome paines and travels, as a woman hath to bring forth a childe.

Although vengeance be delayed it will come at last: it commeth with leaden feet, but hath iron hands. *Jothams* curse (who for ought we reade, was the onely man durst speake against the course) will come at last. The Spirit of God telleth us, that after the three yeares are past there commeth out a fire from *Abimelech* and devoureth *Sichem*, and a fire commeth out from *Sichem* and destroyeth *Abimelech*. The first stroke of vengeance is upon the first Covenanters and Associates: By the meanes and strength of the *Sichemites*, *Abimelech* is made King over *Israel*. The first divisive motion is there; the text saith, *God sent an evil spirit betwixt the men of Sichem and Abimelech, and the men of Sichem dealt treacherously with him: v. 23.* The first who gave him the Kingdome, sware, and covenanted with him, are the first Traytors, or rather the scoutge of God to begin his mischiefe.

But how I pray you, goeth this worke on? you have Covenant after Covenant. The first Oath was unlawfull, now treacherously they sweare another Oath against Him. What is the Solemnitie? They keep a solemne festivall; (Religion must ever be a stalking horse.) They goe to the house of their God, they seale a new Covenant, a new association; They not onely anking Him, but also excommunicate Him too: *v. 27.* No Covenants, no Associations, seale them, strengthen them, with Oathes as many as you will, with Sacraments too, making *Sacramenta pietatis vincula iniquitatis*, the scales of piety, the bonds of iniquity, they will neither bind sure, nor make unlawfull pacts or compacts lasting. Reade and consider, *Psal. 11. Psal. 83.*

The story is worthy your looking on. Come on then. *Zabul*, *Abimelech's* governour at *Sichem* is over-awed, he must comply with the second Covenant. *Abimelech* advanceth with his forces towards *Sichem*, killeth them that fallyed out, manns the Gates, enters the Citie, kills all in the Citie, except such as flee to the Tower: they escape not, all of them are consumed with fire. You see then how the first Author's smart for it.

When he hath done vengeance upon them, he blocks up *Therbee*; God having

having done vengeance by him upon the faction, he taketh vengeance upon *Abimelech*, kills him by the hand of a woman, a dishonourable end, for a King, a Souldier, and that by a piece of a millstone which crushed his skull. To shun ignominie, he calls to his Armour-bearer to kill him by his sword, that it be not said hereafter, that he died by the hand of a woman.

This is the first King we read of in Scripture that was the creature of the people, How he achieved it, how he managed it, and what end both he and they had, is enough to make us fall out of love with popular Kings, the Donatives of the people.

To this same purpose some bring the example of *Jeroboam*, who hold that *Jeroboam* was King onely by Gods permission, and not by his commission over the ten Tribes; and that to punish *Salomon* in his posterity for his uncleannesse and idolatrie. Many things might be said *Pro* and *Con*; we purpose not to dispute the point accurately. The reasons which incline some learned men to hold this opinion, amongst others, are these: That there is no anointing bestowed on *Jeroboam* at his entrie to the Kingdom. The symbollicall Ceremonie of his entrie is expressed, by renting of a garment in twelve pieces; he taketh ten of them to himselfe, Scripture mentioneth not the giving of them. The people grieved pitch upon *Jeroboam*, either by him to get redresse of their grievances, or otherwise if that be refused, to assume him to be their King.

Consider how the change is effected: There is a specious shew made of a glorious Reformation, of easing the Subjects of many great pressures, with which they were overburthened in *Salomons* reigne; by heavy impositions laid upon them to build the Temple, *Salomons* Pallaces, and to entertaine the magnificence of his Court, never so rich as in *Salomons* reigne, and never more grudging complaining. These pretences were no lesse specious and reall, then the specious and spurious pretences of our glorious Reformers, and zealous Patriots to day: great promises are made, great hopes of better things are conceived, but behold the issue.

God in his secret but just providence left *Rheboam* to the power of bad Councillors, he refuseth redresse of grievances, the ten Tribes revolt, enthrone *Jeroboam* and made him King. To bring all to a wished end, the people and their new King begin at Religion: Religion must ever be pretended, whatever be the worke, whatever be the intention. How is Religion entreated? By King and people it is subordinated to Politie. Religion is made as Hangings for the house. New Calves, new Altars, new Feasts are erected and instituted: with a specious protestation and profession, that God may be more frequently, more fervently served, and the people

people with more ease to attend, to frequent the service. To this purpose the Calves are erected at *Dan* and *Bethel*. The way of serving God before established was too too troublesome; the true cause was, the King feared if Gods ordinance were kept, and the ten Tribes should goe to *Jerusalem* to keepe the solemne Feasts, doe God service according to his prescript, true Religion preserved would reduce the ten Tribes to their due obedience to the house of *David*. New devices in State, in Government, necessitate the authors and abettors to new devices in Religion.

That this worke may have no rubbs, the old Priests must be gone; the Tribe of *Levi* must be rooted out root and branch: It cannot be, but the old Levites will crosse the new established Government. The basest of the people, Tinkers, Coblers, Coachmen, Mechanicks, &c. become *Jeroboams* and his new Subjects Priests.

This done, he and they take as much authority over and above *their God*, as before they did over and above *their King*; a Calfe must be their God.

What is the successe? Here is a thorow reformation in Church and State, all is unanimously agreed upon by King and people. Consider the consequents: They make to themselves a King to remedy their grievances; the King maketh them cast-aways. They banish from them the true Levites, they place in their steed the scumme and drosse of the vulgar. By him and his successours all the erroneous religions amongst their neighbours are admitted and received; any religion is allowed except the onely true one. But what? Is not the King by this made glorious at home, and terrible abroad? No: no such thing. He is made the reproach of all Kings; his *Motto* for ever is, *Jeroboam that made Israel sinne*. This is all *his excellency* we reade of in Scripture, this is the horne of his exaltation. How fare the people? free-borne people, under a lawfull and just King of their owne, setting up a King of themselves, wrought and effected at last their owne, their Kings, their States utter extirpation, and of free-borne Subjects become the slaves of strange Kings and Kingdomes.

This story duely considered is able to rectifie the errours of this time, if mens mindes be not fore-stalled with damnable prejudice. It layeth open to us, that Kings when they are peoples Donatives are not successful; and discovereth, how popular reformations (so much now in this distemperd age cryed up) are not Gods ordinance, and most unhappy in the end: howsoever for a time, when God is to punish a Nation, they may have some seeming successe, and some lasting durance; God in his wisdom giving way to them to punish our sinnes, and to try our constancy in his truth. Both the one and the other story prove, that these courses when they



they prevaile are the worst of judgements. If you joyne them, and be pleased to parallel them with our times, you will find a full *correspondence*, resemblance and resemblance with us in many fit resemblances; my prayer to God is to give us all repentance, and that speedily, lest the like or worse befall us, when we shall have neither opportunity, nor place, nor power to helpe it, and too late acknowledge our error.

All Divines doe rightly hold, that *Omnis Christi actio nostra instructio*; never was any thing acted by Christ, which hath not in it something to instruct us in Christian knowledge and duty. That Christ was truly a King borne, we proved it before; The Wise men did him royall homage while he was in his swadling-clothes; He entered *Jerusalem* in royall pompe and magnificence; When his Disciples honoured him by the name of King, he did not refuse it; When the *Jewes* were offended at it, he told them it was not just, but also necessary; and it all should faile in that duty, the stones would proclaime him King, and doe him homage; He avouched it before *Pilate*, when he was looking death in the face; By a speciall direction of Gods providence it was written upon his Crosse, *The Altar where he offered that propitiatory and expiatory Sacrifice*; His grave was sealed as Kings tombes use to be: from the Cradle to his Crosse, from his mothers wombe, till he is buried, in all the times of his life, his Royalty and Kingdome is manifested. Notwithstanding of all, when the people would have made him a King, he disclaimed it, he would have none of it. When by commission and trust he might have beene Arbitrer, umpire betwixt two brethren differing about the moitie of their inherisance, he refused it. Many reasons for it, but without all controversie this is one, to teach all Christians, that Sovereignty cannot be derived from the people, from the community: He would have none of that dignity from them, he chose rather to want it, then to have it from a wrong hand.

It is evident by what we have said, that sacred truth as revealed to us in Scripture, as understood by the Fathers and Martyrs of the Primitive Church, and sound reason, doth plead for the truth we maintaine, that *Sovereignty and Royalty* in a King, is by immediate dependency, derivation, and collation, from God and Christ, who are Kings of Kings, and Lords of Lords; and it is not onely a simple error, but pernicious, sacrilegious, and derogatory to the honour of God and Christ, to make it to be derived and transferred from the underived Majestic of the people; and that in such a measure, by such a tenor, that they have it in what portion, what proportion they will bestow it, with no more certainty and security then as *the Tennants at will*, to be enthroned dethroned, kinged unkinged at their pleasure.

sure. Having said enough (although but little in regard of what may be said) to establish the positive part, *ex arandasiis*, we come now to take off *arandasiis*, their pretended grounds and principles, upon which they build this their *Babel*. And these onely in this question which have nearest alliance and contingency with this first question; the rest we will take off in discussing and debating the subsequent questions, as they are most proper and homogeneous to them, and every one in its proper place.

## CHAP. XII.

*Wherein three grounds of our Adversaries are taken off and disproved. As 1. That the interposing of an humane act in the constitution of a King, doth not hinder the Sovereignty to be immediately from God. 2. Next, the inconsequence of that Sophisme, a private man may make away his personall liberty, and enslave himselfe to another, Ergo a people or multitude may doe the like, and invest a King with Sovereignty, is detected. 3. The true sense of Quilque nascitur liber is given, and the false glosse of the adversaries is discovered.*

**T**He Jesuite is so learned, that he knoweth and acknowledgeth that an humane act may be interposed, and the effect wrought, produced, may be the immediate worke of God; the ignorance of the Sectarie, and weak Christians stumble at it; for nothing is more frequent in the mouthes of the vulgar and lesse knowing sort, where hath God manifested from heaven, that such or such a one is King? and the Observator himselfe conceiveth the sense our tenet, *that the King is immediately of Gods appointment and confirmation*, cannot in any other notion be verified, except we can shew a particular revelation for every King invested with Sovereignty by a revelation from Heaven. It feareth me he will take it ill, if we marshall him with the vulgar and lesse knowing sort; and yet without disparagement

ment to his other abilities, we must conceive him to be a small intelligent in Divinity, if he conceive that no power can be in man by Gods immediate working, except we can shew him a revelation from Heaven, by the Ministry of Angels, or some extraordinary Prophet.

In stating the question, we cleared this point sufficiently to an understanding man; yet give me leave for the better satisfaction of the weaker *collam reponere cramben*, to resume and repeat some of that we have said, with some additions and illustrations.

It is not to be denied but in the ordinary constitution of Kings, some humane act interveneth; and is interposed; as election, succession, conquest, &c. yet this may very well subsist, with the immediate collation of royall power from God: to make this plaine, consider that a thing is said to be immediately from God two wayes. 1. First, when it is done by God, *sine quocunque signo creato, & sine quacunque dispositione praeveniente*; that no created signe or praevious disposition interveneth or precedeth the worke done; Thus nothing is immediately said to be from God, but what is by immediate manifestation from himselfe, or by the extraordinary ministry of Angell or Prophet: as *Moses* was made Captaine over *Israel*, *Saul* and *David* were made Kings of *Israel*. 2. Next, when God worketh or effecteth the worke, yet so as some disposition, signe or created act is praevious and antecedent to, or coherent with the worke effected. By Baptisme the baptized obtaineth remission of sinnes and renovation of nature; This effect is immediately wrought by God himselfe: The reason is evident, because aspersion of, or immersion in water of their owne nature cannot take away the staine and guilt of sinne, nor state the baptized in the state of adoption and regeneration. The Schoole expresseth it barbarously, yet pregnantly enough; *Deum concurrat ad*, God is concurrent and operateth with his ordinance, and by his influence supervenient of his grace and power, effecteth that which Baptisme in its nature abstractly cannot produce: so as remission of sinne, and regeneration *consequitur ad baptismum*; followeth with, and is conjoynd with Baptisme. The Schoole giveth us the way to discern it when it is so; and that is whensoever *Signum creatum*, the interposed act or praevious disposition hath no naturall contingencie with the effect, the worke wrought must be produced by some supervenient extrinsecall more eminent agent, which is God. Schoole-men doe confesse that the Sacraments doe not conferre grace *Vi naturali, Physica & inherente*, by their naturall, intrinsecall, and inherent power; but *Vi moralis, supernaturalis, & superveniente extrinsecâ*, but by some extrinsecall supervenient power.

The like you may observe in sacred orders; it is confessed amongst all understanding and sound Divines, that by admission into sacred orders the admitted receiveth a supernaturall power in supernaturall things, for supernaturall ends. This is not done without the interposing of an humane act, the imposition of the Bishops hands, and yet it is most certaine this is not done by the Bishops act, it is the power of God concurring and cooperating with his owne ordinance.

In morall things you may see the like, a man marrying a woman, becoming her head and Lord, there precedeth this power and right, a created humane act, the voluntary consent of the woman; yet it cannot be said, that her consent endoweth or investeth the man with this maritall right; it floweth from, and followeth immediately the inviolable ordinance of Almighty God: and this eye is so strict, so perpetuall by the same ordinance, that it cannot be made void but by God himselfe; *No man can put asunder whom God hath joynd together.*

This holds in the constitutions of Kings. Some humane act, as election, succession, or conquest is interposed, but none of them hath any *naturall contingency* with Sovereignty and Majestie, that by their intrinsecall power they can collate it, produce it, worke it, or effect it. The collation must necessarily then be immediatly from God; and the same way as in sacred Orders. This was the sence of the ancient Church, who ordinarily institute a parallel, betwixt Prince and Priest; that as the Priest hath his sacred power spirituall immediately from God, so the Prince hath his sacred Sovereigne temporall power independently from any other, and solely dependent from God. Hearc them speake in their owne words: *Hosius* spoke so to *Constantinus* the Emperour; *οτι βασιλειαν ο Θεος αναγειρσεν, ημιν τα της βασιλειας επιςυνα; και οσαυτα ο τις ον αρχην παραλαβων απλαγος της διαταξαισης ουκ εστι φοβηδυντι, μη χ' ουκ της εκκλησιας ιεραυτην ικων αποδοτω θρησκιατι μεγαλη γωη.* *Vide Athanas. epist. ad Solit. vis. agent.* The sence is, *Hosius* acknowledgeth that Kings and Emperours have *Βασιλειαν*, Sovereignty and Royalty, as independently, as immediately from God, as Bishops and Priests have the trust which is peculiar to them *ex vi ordinis*; and averreth, that it is no lesse intrusion upon God surreptitiously to invade the Kings right, his prerogative, then for any not called to the Ministerie, to intrude upon the sacred function and charge of Bishop or Priest. The passage is excellent: 1. Kings are Kings, *qua* Kings *reduplicative*; immediately from God, and by his donation of power. 2. As Priests have a power incommunicable to any besides, so Kings have their Sovereignty incommunicable to Subjects, or any else. 3. That to rob, or surreptitiously to steal from Kings

Kings their sacred Prerogative; is sacrilegious usurpation, presumptuous intrusion upon God himselfe; no lesse, if no more, then for a Lay-man to intrude upon the holy function and charge of Bishop or Priest. Neither *Athanasius*, nor *Hosius*, nor any Father else understood, but that Princes had their power as immediately from God as Church-men in sacred orders, To the *Greek* Fathers joyned the *Latine*. *Saint Austin de Civit. Dei*, lib. 4. cap. 33. saith, *Solus verus Deus dat regna terrena bonis & malis, &c. neque hoc temere, neque fortunâ. Sed pro rerum ordine ac tempore, occulto nobis, notissimo sibi.* It is the onely true God, none else, man nor Angel, that giveth Kingdomes: and that not onely to good, but to bad Kings; And this is not done casually by hap-hazard, but in wisdom conforme to the exigencie of the time, of men living in the time. How it commeth that sometimes bad men are Kings, sometimes good men, it is of his wisdom, in a secret dispensation most evidently knowne to himselfe, hid to us; but for all this alwayes just. I with our Sectaries would heare and beleve this Lecture of *Saint Austin*; certaine I am, the holy and learned Father knew they came not to their Crownes, but by some interposed act of election, succession, conquest, &c. notwithstanding, he will have all their Sovereignty, Majestie, and power solely from God.

*Symmachus* the Pope writing to *Anastasius* the Emperour speaketh thus, *Tu defer Deo in nobis, & nos deferemus Deo in te*: which words formally and explicitly imply, that royalty in Kings is to be revered and obeyed, as in Gods immediate Vicegerents upon earth, as God is to be obeyed in Church-men his immediate Vicegerents in the worke, and supernaturall acts and effects of the Gospell. To this Patriarch adde the suffrage of another great one, *Cyril of Alexandria*, lib. 11. in *Joh. cap. 13.* where amongst other things to this purpose he saith, *Et homines quidam à Deo accipiunt ut aliis possint dominari.*

Review againe that excellent passage of the Councell of *Paris*, lib. 3. cap. 5. *Constat ergo, quia non actum, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humana, sed virtute imo occulto iudicio dispensationis divina regimen confertur terrenum.* It is in the opinion of these Fathers in this Councell assembled, that no act humane whatsoever, which is interposed in the constitution of a King, maketh him King, but onely *virtus, & occultum iudicium dispensationis divina*, the power, the secret and incomprehensible judgement of God, in his unsearchable dispensation.

Review the passage: *1 Sam. 12. v. 11.* And the Lord sent *Jerubbaal* and *Bodan*, and *Jephthah*, and *Samuel*, &c. Here you see the sending of *Jephthah* to be Judge, is no lesse given to God, then the sending of *Gideon*



and *Samuel*, whose calling was extraordinary revelation. Compare this passage with *Judges 11*. There you will finde that *Jephthah* came to be Judge, by a Covenant made betwixt him and the *Gileadites*: Here you have an interposed act, and a great one, that seemeth to serve much for your purpose, you have a Covenant, a Compact. Yet notwithstanding the Lord to shew this act, this compact, this covenant contributed nothing to make him Judge; The Lord himselfe in authorizing him as Judge, vindicateth it no lesse to himselfe, then when extraordinarily he authorized *Gideon* and *Samuel*: *1 Sam. 12. v. 11.* a place, an argument unanswerable: which bringeth home two conclusions; The one, that the authority and power is from God; The other, that whatsoever act interveneth, if it were a Covenant, it contribureth nothing to authority, cannot weaken it, cannot repeale it.

By Scripture then and Antiquitie it is cleare, that the interposed act humane whatsoever it be, whether election, succession, conquest, or any other lawfull way, doth not collate the power, but designe or declare the person, and letteth not the power to be of immediate collation from Almighty God; as when the Church designeth or declareth a man for a sacred function, it is God onely who bestoweth the supernaturall power, faculty, and ability. Or it is in some case like to that, when our King sendeth the honourable Order of the Garter to a Duke or Prince abroad by the hand of a Gentleman, the Gentleman intimateth it to the person honoured, but the bestowing or collating of the honour is from the power of the King, the sole and proper fountaine of that honour.

Let this suffice to remove their first scruple: we come next to examine that which both Jesuite and Puritane make much of, that is, a private and individuall person may make away his own native and proper liberty, and enslave himselfe to a Lord and Master; from hence they conclude, *Ergo*, a community or multitude may surrender their own native liberty to one or more to rule over them: see *Bellarmina* pressing this argument *lib. de Lai- cis cap. 6.* and *Suarez lib. 3. defens. Doctr. Orisiod. cont. Selt. Anglic.* If we would grant all this, yet this much we will gain. that as a singular person when he hath made away his liberty to another, he cannot resume it, no although he hath made his bargain in a hard condition, disadvantageous to himselfe; then although we give that their consequence is good, which we will never grant, it will by as necessary consequence follow, that when the people have devested themselves of that power naturally inherent in them, and invested one or more with it, they cannot resume it, no not though they have made it to their own disadvantage.

It may be they will tell us, *Argumentum à simili in dissimili non concludit*, that an argument built upon a similitude concludeth not in the point of dissimilitude. We will yield to them this with both our hands, and upon the same ground we rejoyne, that there is a wide disparity and difference betwixt the two. 1. First, because it is certain, *Nemo nascitur natura servus*, None by Nature commeth in the world in the condition of a slave. Nature in this is equally indulgent to all. But on the other side, it is as true, *Nemo nascitur liber ab Imperio*, No man is borne in that condition to be free from government, but with his naturall being commeth into the world subject to some. Every man is borne subject to his father, of whom immediately he hath his existence in Nature, and if his father be the subject of another, he is borne a subject to his father's superiour. 2. Next, there is another great difference; Every man by Nature hath an immunity and liberty from despoticall and herile Empire, and in this may say, *Possum facere de meo quod volo*, I have this priviledge by the Law of God and Nature, that I am enslaved to none: and consequently without his owne voluntary act, making away *this native and naturall liberty*, he cannot be devested of it; and in his bargain and covenant, may more and lesse enslave himselfe: but on the other side, God and Nature have laid a necessity upon all men coming into the world *subesse imperio*, to be subject to government. Again, because this government, this Empire, this Sovereignty cannot protect us sufficiently, to make us enjoy the sweet fruits of happy government, *peace, righteousness, plenty, gladness, and honesty*, except it be *entirely* endowed with *Sovereigne* power, to act it's duties, preserve it selfe, protect us: Almighty God as he investeth the Sovereigne with entire Sovereignty, so hath he set the bounds of it, defined it; otherwise, such is the corruption and naturall repugnancy of every one to it, that forthwith it should be rent in pieces.

It is accidentall to any to render himselfe a slave; it is occasioned either by force, as when one is taken by an enemy, he is *Mancipium, Servus*; or otherwise some extreme necessity and indigency forceth one to enslave himselfe, to sell his liberty, to redeem him from debt, death, or any ignominious and intolerable condition to state himselfe in a more tolerable one. In brieve, it is some supervenient necessity that forceth man to make away his native and naturall liberty *à servitute*: but *subesse imperio*, to submit and subject to lawfull Government congruous to the condition of man, and necessary and convenient for the happy being of man, is naturall, is necessary by the inviolable ordinance of God and Nature.

This answer to their second sophisme cleareth the sense of their maxims

so much cryed up, and so much abused; *Quisquis nascitur liber*, every one is borne a free man; that we need not insist much upon it: yet to make the genuine sense of the maxime appeare, and to discover their adulterate and bastard sense; we say, it is most true, that *Quisquis nascitur liber à servitute*: Every man is borne a free man from slavery; but *Nullus nascitur liber à imperio*, none is borne exempted from the subjection of lawfull government, without a subordination, and subjection to a superiour: Christ as man was not exempted from this. It is recorded in Scripture *Luke 11. 51.* *Et se servum quidem dicit*, He did subject himselfe to *Joseph* his putative father, and *Mariæ* his true mother: the word in the originall is the same, which the Apostle useth, *Rom. 13. 1.* commanding obedience and subjection to higher powers.

It were very fit our opposites would consider what power the father had over the children, by the Law of God and Nature; that to redeem himselfe from debt, from any distressed state and condition, he might have enslaved his children begotten of his body. If this power was not by the right of Nature, by the warrant of God, I can see no other, for it could not be by a mutuell and voluntary act of father and children.

To shut up all in few words, give me leave to put you in minde, that the Stoickes observe three notions of *servituti*, of service and subjection. 1. The one is, when a man contrary to native and naturall liberty is made a slave to a Lord or Master: this they call *servitutem ex virore*, when a man hath power to command, use, dispose another man's person, as his other goods at pleasure: for this cause the Scripture standeth not to call a Servant *his Masters Money*. 2. The other is, when a man's person is confined or committed, that he is deprived of living at liberty, as he lists; as criminals or debtors: this kinde of servitude they call *si non visum pascis*, when the liberty of going where we will, or doing what is lawfull at pleasure, is taken from us. 3. The third is, a servitude as they call it *in consuetudine*, consisting in subordination: in the first sense, every man is borne free: in the second sense, some onely by misdemeanour, or misgovernment are restrained from the liberties of free Subjects. In the third sense, no man is borne free, but subject to his father, and to his father's father, his fathers Sovereigne; so that all are borne tyed to obedience and duty of allegiance; and seeing Christ fulfilled so all right conscience that he subjected and submitted himselfe to his parents, and to *Cæsar* too, we must deny to be Christians if we deny that we are borne under the tie of Allegiance. Of these three enough, we haile to consider some more of their popular Maxims and Sophismes.

## C H A P T E R XII.

*The Maxime, Quod efficit tale, est magis tale; or Propter quod unumquodque tale, ipsum magis tale; or Constituens constituto potior, is examined.*

**R**ossau and Bruni, and after them the *Observer* have abused this Maxime infinitely to the great abuse and wronging of Sovereignty, and to advance the Subject above the King, the disorderly root of the multitude above the Lord's Anointed. The *Observer* enunciates it thus, *Quod efficit tale est magis tale*, that which maketh any thing such or such is in it selfe much more such or such; he assumes, but the People make the King give him all the power and majestie he hath. *Ergo*, the People are above the King, &c. *Aristotle* pronounceth the maxime thus, *Propter quod unumquodque est tale illud ipsum est magis tale*. *Rossau*, *Bruni*, *Bouchier*, and others give us it thus, *Constituens constituto potior*, the constituent is more excellent than the constituted; but the People are constituents of Royalty: *Ergo*, &c. Howsoever they differ in the expression, they agree in the sense: let us examine it.

It were fitter to reserve this to our fourth question, but seeing the *Observer* maketh it his first ground, we resolve to shew the weakness of it here. We premise this, although we would grant *their major*, *their maxime*, in the greatest and most vast latitude of their conception, the Argument concludes not against us; for the assumption is as false as falshood in it selfe: we have proved that the People in no notion imaginable, whether diffusively, or collectively, or representatively taken, are either the efficient, or constituent, or donors, or authors of Sovereignty or Soveraignes: we might therefore without hurt to the cause we maintain, grant *their major*, *their maxime*. Yet that we may undeceive the simpler sort, we will a little scanne the truth and proper sense of *the maxime* and *major*.

It is no lesse truly than usually spoken, *Qui versatur generalibus, versatur dolose*; there is no readier a way to deceive the ignorant and little knowing people than by abusing generall maximes, which are current, extending their force farther than they can reach. If Commons, and almost all, even of better place and understanding, were not too violently zealous for, and impatient of intrusion upon, or violation of their supposed rights

rights and liberties, and were not by the corruption of Nature too too apt and facile to entertaine suggestions which are plausible to their fanſie and humour; and withall were not wanting to themselves in moderation, they could neither trust nor magnifie so much such specious, deluding, and deceiving sophismes; nor would they so madly and closely adhere to their masters and teachers of such doctrines, as to be inflamed with fury, to become mad in impiety and rebellion, with such impetuosity, that they cease not, till they become their own instruments, to ruine themselves totally, and to bring upon themselves the imaginary and groundlesse evils that they most feare from others.

Philosophy teacheth us, that all such generall maximes must be bounded and limited with their own true limitations and qualifications, otherwise they conclude not necessarily, firmly. I learned of *Aristotle* in the Schoole, that this maxime, *Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale*: requireth necessarily, before it bring home the conclusion, two conditions. 1. The 1<sup>st</sup> one is, *Ut utrique inest*, that what you are to conclude be both of them in the efficient and effect. 2. The 2<sup>d</sup> other is, *Ut recipiat majus & minus*, that that is really in both, and predicated of both, have such a latitude, that it hath a capacity of more and lesse. Without these limitations the maxime will conclude too much, which in *right Logicks* is the equivalent of that, to conclude nothing.

Seeing we intend a popular way, that the shallowest may understand it, let us prove what we say by instances to the contrary, by examples to the contrary. It is against sense and experience to conclude, This maketh such a thing such, *Ergo*, it selfe is much more such: for by the same way I reason, what maketh any thing drunke, that is much more drunke: but wine maketh a man drunke: *Ergo*, wine is much more drunke. This concludes not, the reason is, because a man may be drunke, but drunkenesse is neither inherent in wine, nor accident to wine. This is taken off then by that limitation, *Ut utrique non inest*. Again, *Scintilla ignis ab igne filicio*, a little sparke of fire from a flint-stone falling into a magazine of powder, putteth the whole magazine into a fire, and that the Town or Castle; will it follow hence, *Ergo*, that little sparke of fire from the flint is a greater fire than when a whole City is a fire: I know to this may be answered, a greater fire it is when the Castle is in fire, but no more fire; the difference being onely in *degrees of extension*, not of *intension*, as Philosophers speake: next, that the scintill from the flint-stone is *magis tale*, more so, than the City inflamed, or the Castle incensed, because it is so *effective & formaliter*, both formally in it selfe, and effectively the cause of the other, the other set on fire by it.



is onely *formaliter*, formally so, because this is not so easily intelligible by every ordinary reader I speake more plaine.

The Parliament cannot like these *Maximes* of the *Observers*, and if they see and judge right, they must make an Order against them, and this especially; for by this ground it will follow inevitably and necessarily, that the Counties and Corporations of *England* may make void all their Commissions given to the Knights and Burgesses of the House of Commons, and send others in their place. Nay, more will follow, that they cannot make Orders and Lawes, but that the Counties and Corporations may make much more, undo what they do, repeale what they establish, establish and enact the contrary. Frame the Argument; the Constituent is better and higher in place and dignity than the Constituted, but the Counties and Corporations are the Constituents of the Knights of Shires, and Burgesses in the House of Commons; *Ergo*, they may void their Commissions; *Ergo*, they may change the Commissioners, send others in their place; *Ergo*, they may repeale their Orders, establish other Lawes contrary and contradictory to theirs, &c. and many more absurdities may be inferred from hence. This made *Buchanan* ingeniously maintain, that Orders and Lawes in Parliament were onely *proclamatoria*, *præcognitions*, till the whole People gave their consent, and had their influence *authoritative*, upon the Statutes and Acts of Parliament. By this you may know where he put the *Legislative power*, in the Community; and this is with more shew of reason than the *Observer's* tenet, who holdeth that the *Legislative power* is in the Parliament; and yet *Buchanan* is more justifiable, for this reason; because, where Majesty is, there is *Legislative power*, but according to the *Observer's* minde, in the People is the *underived Majesty*, let him then come home to the Scottish tenet, and make it an article of their new Covenant, or new Creed, (if they will) that the *Legislative power* is in the People; and the Parliaments Orders and Statutes are only *preparatory præcognitions*: I know the *Observer* thinkes to salve all this, that the whole power of the Gentry and Commons is entirely transferred from the *collective* body to the *representative*, the *Parliament*. To this we answer two things: 1. The first is, Yee and your Brother-assistants the *Scots* are not of one minde, for in the beginning of the Scottish Troubles, when the Subjects there were preferring Petitions, by their Declarations and Protestations, they put all the power in the *Collective* body, and kept their distinct Tables. 2. Next, Speake ingeniously and candidly, *Observer*, shew us the reason of the difference of the disparitie, why the whole entire power of the Community (if any they have) should not be *totally and entirely* derived from the Peo-

ple to the King, when they devest themselves of their underived Majesty, and invest the King with it, no lesse than the whole entire power of the whole Kingdome is devolved upon the two Houses, and that irrevocably too, to hold in the King, as in your Knights and Burgesses: you are not able to shew it, but what with one hand you take unjustly from the King, with another, but a wrong hand, you ascribe to the Parliament. It is like in times succeeding and after ages our wise Kings will learne to know what is *their Power, Place, and Prerogative*, by that the Parliament hath assumed to them, but we are hopefull they will never exercise it with such cruelty and tyranny. I many times thinke upon it, that as the extravagant ambition and usurpation of the Pope of *Rome*, robbing Kings of their sacred right, and assuming to himselfe such superlative transcendent power for himselfe and his See, both in spirituals and temporals, hath wakened Christian Kings to consider better of their sacred Prerogative, and by what he unlawfully & antichristianly assumed to himselfe, *in temporalibus*; to know what trust God Almighty hath given to his Vicegerents, his Kings; so I am hopefull, if God, hath mercy reserved for these Kingdomes and Church, right bounds and limits will be set to Subjects, which will produce happier and sweeter fruites of Government, then we see or feele from these *corri-vall, co-equal, co-ordinate, falsified powers*; and Sovereignty and Royalty be better rooted, which God of his mercy grant for the good of his Church, the happy estate of the Kingdome, and honour and right of our King.

If what is said be not enough to shew the weaknesse of these popular sophismes, I come nearer to the *Observer*, and put it home in a case, where I dare promise he will say it is Sophistry: by this way of reasoning I will prove, there is no better way for the *Observer* to improve his wealth, than to make over the right of all he hath to me: the argument will hold good, *Quod efficit tale, est magis tale*; he that maketh me rich by giving to me all his goods moveable and immoveable, maketh himselfe richer; but the *Observer* by giving of all his goods (my assumption should have been hypotheticall, for positively I know the Gentleman will not do it) to me, maketh me rich, *Ergo*, he maketh himselfe more rich. This Logicke, I conceive, is not so powerfull as to cheat him out of his naturall, rationall faculty, and so cheat him out of all his lands, chattels, and revenues: yet it may be by an Order of the House, that in some case this Logicke may serve to good purpose, that the People giving the twentieth, the tenth, the fifth part, or the moiety of their monies and revenues, and all their plate, to strengthen the Parliament, to advance the good Cause, to cherish (if we will

will (speake truly) and foment this present rebellion, it will not less en their wealth, but enrich them more; because *quod efficit tale, est magis tale*, it maketh some rich, and consequently the donors much more rich. Certainly if this Logick hold, it must be in great request, for if this Logick doe it not, few can see how the publique faith can be kept; divinity and church-rents (if you sacrilegiously rob God, which God forbid) will not doe it; it must be some sophisme like this, some sophisme in this kind that must answer for publique faith, refund the monies borrowed from just Creditors, and repay the wise undertakers, *qui spem pretio emerunt*, who have brought their hoggs to a good market.

To apply this shortly in few words; If I remember rightly this maxime, *quod efficit tale est magis tale*, I learned in the University, to be understood, *de principio formalis effectivo*, of such an agent as is formally such in it selfe, as is the effect produced; Next, that it is such as is effective and productive of it selfe, as when the fire heateth cold water, it is hot formally in it selfe, and maketh water hot likewise. By which it is necessary, that the quality inherent in the effect, be formally inherent in the agent; for this reason it is that wine cannot be said to be drunke, because drunkenesse is no waies inherent in wine, nor can wine be capable of it; and this made Aristotle qualifie his maxime, *quod efficit tale est magis tale, modo utriusque insit*. And this *insit utriusque*, that it be in both, maketh that the maxime holds not in such agents who *operate by donation*, for he that is the donor denudeth himselfe of the right and power of that he giveth to the donee. So here this condition faileth too. And consequently, if the right of the King were transferred by derivation and donation from the people, the donation deverts them totally of it, except the King have it by way of loane, which to my thinking never any yet spoke. Next, it is required that there be a latitude, and that that is effected be capable of a latitude of more and lesse, as when (as I said before) fire heateth water, the heat of the fire is more then the heat of the water. Lastly some adde too, that the maxime must be understood *ante effectum productum*. Now all the argument falleth to the ground, for Sovereignty never was, never can be in the Community; Sovereignty hath power of life and death, which none hath over himselfe, and the Community conceived without government, *all as equall, endowed with naturis and nativis Libertis*, of that Communitie can have not power over the life of another; and so your maxime may be turned home againe upon your selfe, for if the people be not *sales*, such by nature, as have such power, they cannot *constituere sales*, make such, that is, Kings endowed with such power; But sure it is, (as it is said) they have not power of life

and death, to take away their owne life, or anothers. *Ergo* it must be from God, the living God, the God of life.

Seeing you make to good use of your Logicke, give me leave to praise Logicke upon a more sure maxime, which is this, *omnis effectus est in efficiente vel eminenter vel formaliter*, what ever is in the effect that must be in the efficient either formally, or in a more eminent and superlative way; But there is some thing in a King, which is not in people, either eminently or formally. *Ergo* the people are not the efficient and constituent of a King. The minor and the assumption is cleere, The King hath the power to take away the life of man, which is not in the people, whether you take them severally and singly, for no man hath power or may kill himselfe: or whether you take them jointly, for if none hath power over his owne life, much lesse over his neighbours; and your grounds besides presuppose, that all men are equall amongst themselves. That the Sovereigne hath this power, who is so mad as to deny it? *Gen. 9. Rom. 14. He beares not the Sword in vaine.*

Lastly this maxime, *quod efficit tale, est magis tale; constituens constituto potior*, holdeth well with our tenet. Thus, he that maketh Kings, and endoweth them with power, is much more a King himselfe, and hath much more power. But God and Christ make Kings, *Ergo*. The assumption is cleere, for God is King of kings and Lord of Lords, to him all power belongeth; here then *utriusque inest*; and for the other *recipit magis & minus*, it is certaine, for the power of all Kings upon earth, that ever was, are, or shall be, have no more measure and proportion to his power, then a drop of water to the Ocean; his power, is like the light of the sunne; their powers but a borrowed light, like to that in the moone and starres. The Kings power related to God is not univocall, it is onely equivocall or analogicall; and that to be doubted of too; for Philosophy telleth us, *finiti ad infinitum nulla datur proportio*. It is more then apparent then, that this maxime is onely abuted by the deceivers of this time, to make themselves and the people both of them miserable. And the maxime will conclude that the *Scheba's* and *Schimei's*, these authors and incendiaries of Rebellion are more miserable, and shall receive (if not in this life, yet in that is to come) without extraordinary repentance, a greater condemnation, for they kill both body and soule. They make the simpler sort of people miserable, by setting them on upon rebellion against God and his annoynted; to the destruction of state, soule, and body, temporally and eternally, to the reproach and disgrace of Christian Catholike reformed Religion; and infallibly by necessitie of consequents and necessitie of consequents, they make

make themselves most miserable; for *quod officio tale, ipsum est magis tale.*

## CHAP. XIII.

Other grounds of the Iesuite and Sectarie are removed and disproved; as that; that neither Scripture nor nature determines the specification of Government; nor do they intimate, why this man more then the other, or be then a third; or these more then those should have the power of Government. And that great one is taken out of the way, whereby the Variety and difference is found in severall Monarchies; It is more then apparent, say they, that Monarchie is *convenient* by the Voluntary composition and constitution of man.

**O**ur Sectaries have borrowed, as we told you before, their great ordinance of batterie against Sovereignty, from the Jesuits magazen; any who is read in them knoweth well enough how they triumph in those arguments, crying out till they be hoarse againe; 1. First, neither Scripture nor nature teacheth what Monarchie, Aristocracie, and Democracie, or any other imaginable species and kind of government, is the necessary government of humane kind and society; but that the specification and determination is arbitrary and of the constitution of man. To this same purpose is that other, neither the law of God nor nature demonstrate, why this man more then the other, be then a third; why these more then those, should have the Sovereign power.

2. Another great peece of batterie is that, that there is such a multiplicity of variety and differences of Kings, and royall power in the Kings of the world; (looke say they upon Spaine, France, Brittain, &c.) that this must necessarily argue, Kings are of peoples making; and their power is in that portion and proportion, as it pleaseth the people to entrust them.

3. The third is, all humane societies are perfect Republicks, and as they have



have in them originally a power to appoint their government and governours, so they have a power to preserve themselves, and in case of mis-government, they may resume their naturall native and originall power, rectifie by themselves what is amisse; otherwise it must be that God and nature have left them remediless. The first two wee will handle in this chapter, the last in the ensuing.

To answer the Jesuite first in grosse to all; however he be wary enough in all his courses, yet in pressing these arguments against Monarchy, to prove that Monarchy is by humane institution and constitution, and not by immediate collation from God; he is not so prudent: for *mutatis mutandis*, with a little change, loosing nothing of their force; these arguments *et passim* retorted, and turned home upon the Jesuite, will bring home the conclusion, that the Pope is not of divine institution, hath not infallible and universall jurisdiction, but is somewhere and by some censurable, in case of mis-government.

First I pray you, is it demonstrable by the letter of Scripture, or by necessary and evident consequences and consequents deduceable, that the Pope of Rome ought and should be Universall Monarch of the Christian militant Church, Christs Vicar in the externall government in the Church, the true successour to the ordinary power and place of Saint Peter, and secured from all error in points of faith, worship, and manners? That ever Saint Peter himselfe had so much, neither Scripture nor antiquity speake for it; nay, they speake the contrary. And if it were granted to Saint Peter, where have we warrant in Scripture or found antiquity, that the Pope of Rome and none else is the true and lawfull successour of Saint Peter? We will allow them, that if by antiquity they can make it appeare, that it is so, we will yeeld what they demand. But as they frame the argument against us, they must give us this in Scripture *αὐτοκράτωρ* in expresse termes, or *ἀνάλωτος* by immutable and pregnant consequence. If Scripture plead not so much for the Pope, it is more then certaine that nature is as mute as a fish in it. Who ever dreamed that nature dictates, that for the good and happy preservation of the Church, there must be one universall, authoritative, infallible head, and this man to be the Pope of Rome?

Next let them shew to us, where in Scripture, or otherwise by *irrefragable demonstration* it can be made appeare, that Gregory the sixteenth, or Urban the eighth, or any else, should be Pope, more then any other.

Again, let us give to Bellarmine his tenet, which he maintaines, *lib. 5. de Pontifice Romano*, where he endeavours to prove, That the Pope is authorized with an indirect power over and above Kings, in order to spirituall

small things; That the Church is a perfect Republique, which God hath not left destitute to provide for its safety and preservation: If *Bellarmino* will extract from hence this consequence, *Ergo* the Pope the head of the Church, in case of Tyrannie, Heresie, or Aristocracie, for the good of the Church, may censure, punish, dethrone a King; Why may we not more formally, more powerfully conclude against *Bellarmino* thus, The Catholique Church diffusively or collectively taken, is a perfect Republique, which God hath not left destitute of power or meanes to provide for her safety, in case of danger and deficiency: *Ergo* in case of male-administration by the Pope, in case of deficiency, (which are possibly incident to the Pope, and consistent with *his infallibilitie ex Cathedra*) The communicie of Christians may supply his defects, rectifie his disorders; and why not ex cathedrate him too? Otherwise God hath left his Church remediable. The *Romanists* must acknowledge the strength of the Argument to be alike pressing on the one hand, no lesse then the other, or then they must foregoe these ratiocinations. More of this in the next ensuing Chapter.

Having premised this generall Answer, let us now answer to every one of them apart. And to the first Argument, which is framed thus; neither the Law of God or nature determines, that Monarchie is the Government, or Aristocracie the Government, or Democracie the Government; or why one more then more, and some few more then many should have the Supremacie: *Ergo* the donation of the power, the collation of Supremacie, is by derivation from the people to the Governour or Governours. To the first argument, I say, I answer thus, it is an inconsequence; because although I would grant all the antecedent, and that the specification of the government, the people designing (if ever any people were so really, to be free of all government, because it is imaginable, let us grant it as reall) either one to have the Sovereignty over them, as in Monarchie; or some few of the better sort, as in Aristocracie; or many, as in Democracie; it will not follow, *Ergo* Sovereignty in one, few, or many, is by derivation and donation from them: Because their act in this is onely *Designatio personæ*, or *personarum*, to appoint one person, or more, or many persons to be governour or governours for the government: The collation of the power, *Consequitur ad designationem, ex donatione & ordinatione divinâ*; followeth upon this designation and deputation of the person or persons, from the immediate donation and ordination of God. As when such and such men are designed to holy Orders and functions, the designation of the person and persons is the worke and act of the Church; But the collation of the power is the proper, peculiat, and immediate worke and act of God, as all knowing.

knowing Divines doe willingly acknowledge. To reason à *potestate designativa & deputativa persona & personarum*, from the power which designeth and deputeth a person or persons for a charge; ad *potestatem collativam auctoritatis*, to the power of collating or giving the power it selfe, is the Sophisme and caption, which the Schoole calleth à *figura dictionis*, where there is a *parabasis in alio gen.*, a proposing in the antecedent in one kinde, and a concluding in the consequent in another and different kinde. A woman may designe the person of the man; who is to be her husband; but maritall right and power is collated by God immediatly, and issueth necessarily from his ordination.

That other Sophisme maketh no better Parologisme, although *Suarez* taketh it for a demonstration unanswerable. The force of the argument briefly is this; If Sovereignty in a King were immediatly from God, then power royall could not chuse but be uniforme in all Kings, but this holdeth not; for there is such a latitude of variety, that some Kings have more, some lesse, with a great deale of difference, in the point and power of Sovereignty. Before we answer this, I entreat the Christian reader to consider, that we maintaine not, we plead not at this time for a *Despoticall Sovereignty*, which is *Dominium herile*, an absolute power, such as the Great Turke this day exercises over his Subjects, or the King of *Spain*, hath over, and in all his Territories without *Europe*: We maintaine onely *Regiam potestatem qua fundatur in paterna*, such royall paternall Sovereignty, as (blessed be God) we and our Ancestors have lived long and happily under. Thus as it hath its Royall Prerogatives inherent naturally in the Crowne, and inseparable from it; so it trencheth not upon the Liberty of the person, or the Propriety of the goods of the Subject, but in and by the lawfull and just acts of jurisdiction. Next I desire the Courteous and Judicious Reader to remember, that when we plead for the Sovereignty of Kings, we understand such onely who are truly and really Kings, not *Titulo tenus*, by compellation onely, as were the *Lacedemonian* Kings, Executors onely of the decrees and pleasure of the *Ephori*; which was truly an Aristocracie, no Monarchie.

Then, the argument is this; That which is of that condition and temper that it may be enlarged or straitned; that which actually and experimentally is found various and different, it cannot be such by any constitution of nature, or institution from God. But Monarchie is such, Ergo. Here *Suarez* cryeth out, *Clarum est indicium huius veritatis, quod hac Regia potestas non sit equalis in omnibus regibus, neque cum iisdem proprietatibus durationis, perpetuitatis, successionis, & similibus.*

The *major* of this Syllogisme, or Sophisme rather, must be some way better qualified, otherwise it will conclude nothing, or too much, which is the equivalent in the rules of right and sound reasoning to that, to conclude nothing. In the same manner I reason, every man hath not a little measure of knowledge, reason, discourse, &c. but some are more, some are lesse knowing men; some more, some lesse rationally, &c. *Ergo* knowledge, reason, discourse, &c. are not naturall to man. The consequence is lame; because to reason, *ab actu exercito ad actum signatum*, or contrariwise, will not alwayes hold; or to reason *a potentia secunda ad primam vel a contrariis* from the difference in the exercise, to conclude a difference or disparitie in the first capacitie, is inconsequent. To be rationally in the first capacitie and naturall power, is essentiall to all men, and equall in all; but in the use, the exercise of the rationally facultie, there is a vast disparitie, because of a great latitude in different actuall abilitie. Nature admits a great variety in the use and exercise of her naturall powers, that all are not a like fitted and enabled for the second acts. In the first capacitie nature is so just, so equall, so indulgent to all, that the native first radicall power being of it selfe, *in indivisibili*, is equall in all; no lesse, *in homine tenuissimi sensus*, in the least knowing man, then in him who in sharpnesse of wit approacheth nearest to Angelicall and Noeticall spirits.

Take another instance; The face of man is not much above a spanne in length or breadth, yet what an immense variety is there in the faces of men? Naturalists and Moralists doe hold, and not without great shew of reason, that from the first to the last man, every individuall hath his owne proper peculiar face. Can *Snarez* or any other from this variety in the Antecedent, bring home this conclusion in the Consequent, *Ergo* a face is not naturall to man, but something casuall, or accidentall. The result is, we must pitch upon some things naturall, which are uniforme in all, and which yet admit in the multivariuous wisdom of God, and large worke of nature, some roome and place of variety, which variety doth neither abolish nor destroy the essentials. We will find the like in Monarchie, that all of them are uniforme in their essentials; and accidentall varieties do not prove them to be of humane composition or constitution.

If instances in things naturall doe not the businesse, let me entreat the *Je- suite* and *Puritan* to looke upon morall things, where they will finde the like. *Ultio seclorum*, that grosse enormous crimes are to be punished with a condigne proportioned punishment, is the ordinance of God, of Nature, and common equity. This truth is undenyable. Is there not a great variety and difference in the measure and manner of the punishment, in dis-

rent Kingdomes and Nations? Theft somewhere is punished by death, somewhere by restitution; and that of restitution, somewhere twofold, somewhere threefold, some fourefold, &c. somewhere it is punished by slavery, somewhere one way, somewhere another way. Infinite instances of this kinde might be adduced. Can you from hence conclude, that the punishment of theft is not an inviolable order and ordinance of Almighty God and common equity? But that it hath all its entirie and being by influence from humane appointment? A Countrey Clowne would jeere you for this.

We deny not but Gods workes are uniforme in their essentials, *ita ut nec augeri nec minui possunt*, that if you take the least part of the essentials (if essentials may truly be said to have parts) from them, they perish; yet this may well subsist with some more, some lesse power in the actuating or exercising of this naturall uniforme power. No understanding *Jesuite* will deny, but acknowledge that Episcopacy with all its essentiall power is immediately from God, and of his institution; and yet may it not be, that *in actu exercito*, in the exercise of this power some Bishops may have more, some lesse power in actuating that which they are not restrained from, but may doe *ex vi ordinis*, by their sacred native power? A Bishop *ex vi ordinis*, by his inherent power of Consecration, may ordaine every where in the world, as many Priests, as many Deacons as he will; yet may he not be restrained, that he shall not doe it without his owne Diocesse? May he not by the same power ordaine a Priest without a Title or Cure? and yet may he not be restrained by positive consent and constitution, that he shall not doe it? Is not the case possible and probable, that Bishops of one particular Church may be more restrained then Bishops of another particular Church? Can *Suarez* or any other then conclude from this variety in the exercise of Episcopacy, that Episcopacy with its radicall power is not immediately from God and Christ? He hath more learning and candor then will allow him to be so absurd.

The Sectary feeleth no hurt by this stroke: Well, let us come home to him. I demand of the Sectary, whether or not a Minister made (I dare not say, a Priest in sacred Orders, or ordained by imposition of hands, this Christian practice is Antichristianisme now a dayes) hath not all the power naturally inherent in him, that any other Minister whosoever, and wheresoever else? I am confident none of them will deny it: Again, may he not be restrained to doe no Ministeriall act, as to Baptize, Preach, &c. but within his owne Parish, unlesse he be otherwise licensed? No moderate Sectarie (if any such be) doth deny this. Come on: In some cases



of jurisdiction (I feare the terme offends the eares and stomach of the *Presbyterian*) in some cases of Discipline, I say, of which by Gods Law, and his calling (excuse me to keepe their owne diction) he hath full power within his charge, may he not be so restrained that some *reserved cases* (this phrase I feare be offensive) that some points of discipline be reserved as peculiar for the *Classis*, the *Presbyterie*: and that their judgement is onely to be executed by the Parish Pope? This is a knowne case amongst them. Againe, may there not be some points of discipline, and doctrine too, reserved as proper and peculiar for a *Provinciall*? And againe, some of that high straine and concernment, that they cannot be cognosced or determined, but by a generall Assembly of such a monstrous composition, a *Tragelaphus*, such as never Christ instituted, nor Christian Church knew? All this holds with their tenets, their practises. Further I demand, may it not be that in particular Nationall Churches, as the Church of *Germany*, the Church of *France*, the Church of *Scotland* are, in these cases reserved respectively as we expressed before, that there may be a great variety and difference. Now notwithstanding of all those restraints, by which Ministers so evidently and actually differ in the exercise and actuating of their Ministerial charge and function: The Sectarie that understands himselfe aright will be very loath to have the conclusion brought home, that the Ministerial power is all by humane institution, by humane composition, contract, or that his calling is humane onely, conventionall onely, pactionall onely. As he answereth for himselfe, I hope he will furnish us an answer how to take off this Argument so much triumphed in, both by him and his spurious father the Jesuite.

I take the *Observer* to be a Lay Gentleman, and it may be as the times are, he careth not much for the one way of Episcopacie, nor the other way of Presbyterie, nor the third of Independencie, nor any other way imaginary or imaginable in the Church; we must therefore some other way satisfie him. Then let me intreat him to consider what variety and difference is found in æconomically government, if he will looke upon the exercise either of maritall or paternall power: View it, if in different Kingdomes, in divers Nations, he finde not and acknowledge a great immense variety; or will he looke upon both at home, not almost one family uniforme and alike with another, and that according to the various temper of fathers and husbands, their different abilities, some being more indulgent, some more rigorous, some keeping the equall meane: Some being more intelligent, knowing, and prudent; some of lesse knowledge, prudence, and government. The *Observer* will finde some wives like *Sarah*, with reverence

and submission calling their husbands Lord; some *Nichols* lording over their husbands; some fathers like *Eli* too too indulgent to their children: Others like *Job* happily and piously breeding his children, and sacrificing for them when they are feasting. In brieft, looke upon the æconomic of all families within your knowledge, and you shall finde that in government not one lookes like another. Doth it then from hence follow necessarily, that paternall or maritall authority is not from God and nature, but appointed at the pleasure and constitution of men.

The result of all is this: That seeing in things Naturall, things Morall, things Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall, and in things æconomicall, this accidentall and supervenient variety in their exercise, destroyeth not the true essence and inseparable essentials of the things themselves, but naturally they are uniforme and equally the same: So in the different Monarchies of the world, the disparitie and difference of the exercising of monarchicall power, which is accidentall, maketh them not specifically and essentially different and diverse. What these *prime, radicall, essentiall constitutives* of Monarchie are, it will be proper to expresse, quæst. 4. We content ourselves with three, which are agreed upon to be in all species of Sovereigne power, whether Aristocraticall, Democraticall, or Monarchicall. The 1. First is, that it is *Potestas suprema*, that it is subordinate to none but Almighty God; *dicis negationem superioris in terris*, it admitteth no coordinate, collaterall, coequal, or correlative power. 2. Next, it is *Perpetua potestas*, a perpetuall power; He cannot fall from his Sovereignty, but whilest he lives he is the Lords Anointed. 3. Thirdly, the power of all Monarchies and of every Monarch, is, *Legibus soluta*, subject to no over-ruling power of man. Conceive it not so, that Kings are free from the direction of, and obligation to the Law of God; nature, and common equitie; but from *Coercion humane*, or any humane *coactive power*, to punish, censure, or dethrone them. The *Hebrewes* call these, and what particulars come within their verge, *Majus Imperium*; The *Greeks* *κυριον πολιτικον*, and *αεινον αξιοκρα*; and where those are equal in all Monarchie, no accidentall variety can change the nature of Monarchie in all and every one of them.

As for other particulars virtually and naturally included in three, howsoever *In actu signato*, in their first capacity, they be *proprie propriissimè*; radically & properly in Sovereignty and in Monarchies; yet in *actu exercitio*, in the exercise of them, they may be entrusted to the Subject, *Ita ut non defluat radix suprema potestatis*; so that they have it onely by delegation and trust, *communicativè*, by communication; not *privativè*, not so that these Delegates are invested so with it, as the King is totally divested. Who

can deny but *Judiciaria potestas*, the power to judge in all *causes*, *criminal*, *civill*, which concerne the Subjects and Kingdome, is inherent essentially in the Crowne and Scepter of the King, and the King to ease his burthen, and that Justice may the more readily and easily be done, entrusteth his Judges with it? And here is not the trust lesse and more, as it pleaseth the King to give it? Is it not different in some onely for such and such cases and causes, in others for some others different? And doth there not lye to the King *extrema appellatio*, the last appeale; or if that be not, to make Justice more expedite, is there not the equivalent reserved, that the party hurt may by Petition and humble Remonstrance, make his case and cause evident to the King, that he in his Sovereignty may redresse what is wrong, and punish the Judge abusing his trust. By which it is more then apparent, that this and the like restraints, The King putteth upon the exercise of his native power, is onely *ad minuendam sollicitudinem*, not *ad minuendam majestatem*, to facilitate his charge, and not to denude or disrobe himselfe of that sacred Right and Prerogative God hath given to him as his Vicegerent upon earth.

Again, it is not slightly to be passed by, that there be many Kings, many times too indulgent fathers to their people and subjects, who give away too much of their sacred right, which when subjects have come at, being more than they should, zealous of their liberty, will not part with it again, but detain it sacrilegiously. If a man could be allowed to speake truth in this distempered age, it may be said without sin against God, or crime of late-majesty against King or People, that where Monarchy has been too much straitened, and weakened by losse of it's naturall and native prerogative, it hath been done by imprudent, at least inconsiderate acts of too good Princes, and of voluntary concession: and in end as they prove derogatory to Soveryaignty, so they prove destructive to the peace and protection, the liberty and propriety of the subject. Review all the grants of Princes in this kinde, and you shall finde upon authentick record, that they be meere *Concessions of grace*. If as much could be shewne upon as faithfull and unquestionable record, to prove our King a passionall, and conventionall Prince, your plea should be more specious in the eyes of the world. And if you could by *authentick evidence* make it appeare, that such bounds and limits are put to Soveryaignty, as it is more than manifest that what you claime is by acts of voluntary humanity, you should do somewhat which probably would take the people more; but I must tell you withall, you totally destroy Monarchy, and must lay right down, our gracious Sovereigne is no Monarch, which is against reason, sense, your

records extant, and the universall testimony of all knowing men in other Kingdomes and States. It is great discourtesie to change Princes *acts of grace* bestowed upon subjects, into acts of *duty and debt*: nor is it a ready way to obtain more grace, to prove unthankfull and not acknowledge prior graces received. Lawyers and Jurists do tell you, that from *actus humanitatis & voluntatis*, from acts of courtesie and voluntary concession you may not reason to conclude *actum necessitatis*, an act of necessity and debt; this is a paralogisme in Law.

Lastly, is it not more than known, that People are so corruptly disposed against, and opposed to government, that they are ready to slip the collar, and to shake off, at least to weaken the yoke of government? from hence it issueth, that subtle men wait opportunities to cheat good and weak Princes out of their rights and prerogatives. And is it not seen, that wise and able Princes being plunged into inevitable and unavoidable difficulties, to obtain Subsidies and assistance of their subjects, to extricate to themselves out of such labyrinths, are forced to suffer their rights to be wrestled out of their hands, and to make sale of them. Both Statutes and stories witness this truth plentifully. The truth is, they are ill made away, and a great deale worse kept away. Necessity may be some excuse for parting with them, but it is sacrilege in subjects to detain them. It cannot subsist with the rules of good policy and government, to trench so upon *the Prerogative of the King*, as to disable him from doing his charge, *to protect and govern his subjects in peace and safety*. An impotent King is the same with no King; where in the Book of *Judges* it is so oft repeated, when idolatry, rapine, blood, and oppression abounded, that *in those dayes there was no King in Israel*; none is so blockish to conceive that God's people lived under an *Anarchie*: but the phrase importeth two things; first, that they wanted the most excellent of governments, they had no King, no Monarchy; next, that the *then Government* was so weak and weakened, that it could neither repress, nor censure disorders of the highest enormity: and that whole book is a full Commentary that Aristocracy is defective to effect or worke the proper workes and effects of perfect government; for you shall finde universally in the whole book, that while the people were governed by the *Sanhedrim*, the Princes of the Tribes, and fathers of the people, &c. The people went a whoring after other gods; then God to punish them, delivered them into the hands of their enemies; then they cryed to the Lord in the day of their distresse, and then the Lord raised up to them a *Sophet*, a Judge, a deliverer, who under God as his Viceroy had *Jura belli & pacis*; soveraigne power in warre & peace: a very observable thing to prove the

the excellency of Monarchy, and the weakness and defects of Aristocracy, whose mis-government could not be rectified but by placing the Sovereignty in one: reade and consider the whole Book, and you will finde it true what we say: to give you one for all, referring the rest to your own search and triall, reade the second Chapter of that Book, which in the opinion of the most learned is a brieve summary of the whole state and condition of that people from the first time of that story to *Saul* and *David's* dayes, and particularly reade what you have *Vers. 17, 18*, *They would not hearken unto their judges, but they went a whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves unto them, they turned quickly out of the way, which their fathers walked in, obeying the Commandments of the Lord; but they did not so. And when the Lord raised them up judges, then the Lord was with the judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies all the dayes of the judge.* And see what followeth *Vers. 19*. *And it came to passe when the judge was dead, that they returned and corrupted themselves more than their fathers, in following other gods, &c. They ceased not from their own doings, and from their stubborne way.* To conceive these words right, you must observe, that the word *Judges* *Vers. 17*. and the same word *Vers. 18*, is not used in the same sense; the reason is evident; for of the first judges *Vers. 17*. it is expressly said, *The people did not hearken to them, but they went a whoring after other gods, &c.* These judges were the ordinary judges, the *Sauhedrim*, the Princes of the twelve Tribes, the fathers of families, &c. The judges mentioned *Vers. 18. & 19*. are the judges extraordinarily raised by God, *Othniel, Ehud, &c.* So the word *raised* imports: again, these judges became judges after their going a whoring, and after their miserie and slavery for sin. Thirdly, of these judges it is said, that not onely they delivered the Israelites from their bondage, but that during their dayes the people continued in the right service of God. Fourthly, that after their death they ceased not from their doings, and from their stubborne way: which things are farre different from the condition of the judges mentioned *Vers. 17*. Lastly, it is not to be passed by, that emphatically it is said, that *God was with the judges whom he raised up*, more blessing Monarchie then Aristocracie, because more warranted and liked by God than any other government whatsoever: observe it well, that under the judges, the Aristocracy, the people went a whoring; and when the judge raised up by God died, and the government returned again to be Aristocraticall, the Text saith, that *they ceased not from their doings, and from their stubborne way*. Adde to this, that *Abimelech* knew it to be a powerfull argument to perswade them to make him King, that Monarchie was better then



Aristocracy, *It was better one reigne over them than seventy.* Forget not withall, that in all the disorders mentioned in the last part of the Book the reason is not given for want of government, but want of a King in Israel: of this more, *Quest. 2.* To returne to our purpose by what we have alleged it is cleare, that Sovereignty weakened in Monarchy or Aristocracy cannot do it's worke, and is in the next place and condition to Anarchy and confusion. When *Zedekiah* was over-lorded by his Nobles, he could neither save himselfe nor his people, nor Prophet and servant of God *Jeremiah*: nor could *David* punish *Joab* when he was over-awed by that power he himselfe had put in his hands. To weaken the head is to distemper the whole body: wherefore I doubt not to affirme but if any good Prince, or his royall Ancestours have been, or are cheated out of their sacred right by fraud or force, he may at the fittest oportunity when God in his wise providence sheweth the occasion resume it. Much more lawfull it is for Kings to do this, when subjects have used or abused rather such concessions of grace to the hurt of Sovereignty, and the good of the subject. Let us never feed our selves in a foolish paradise, to thinke the subject can be secured, where the sacred prerogative of the King is injured. *Contractatio rei alienae*, what a sin it is the Law decides, determines: *Contractatio rei alienae & sacra*, what a sin it is Scripture telleth us; it is sacriledge, and intrusion upon Almighty God himselfe, no lesse than when a Kings Ambassadour is violated by a forraign Prince. Our Saviour hath taught us, it is not fit to cast pearles and precious stones, you know to whom; I have a better opinion & esteem of all the Kings subjects. It is a poore and ignorant shift that some pettifoggers, smatterers in the Law, use to wrong the sacred prerogative of Kings, acknowledging no more for the royall prerogative, nor what they say, the Law municipall of the Kingdome hath determined. I do not speak this to reproach intelligent Jurists, and reverend judges, whose places and parts I reverence as much as any, accounting the knowledge of that science next to Divinity, and farre more excellent and usefull than all others besides. I acknowledge none have written more divinely almost, nor rationally, in maintenance of the sacred right and person of Kings, than some excellent and eminent in the knowledge of the Law; as *Bodin*, *Barclay*, *Blackwood*, and others, to whose travels in this subject we owe much: but for these other *Scioli*, they cannot distinguish betwixt a *Statute declarative*, and a *Statute constitutive*. What is found in the Statutes of the Kingdome concerning the Prerogative they onely declare Prerogative to the Subject, and adde a Sanction penall, in case of violation, they do not determine it, God Almighty hath by himselfe declared it. We would

would laugh at him in the Schoole of Divinity, who would but mutter that the decalogue was not a Law till God wrote it with his own finger in two tables in mount *Sinai*, gave it to *Moses*, and *Moses* intimated it to the people. What is *morally naturall* in it, is *Lex naturæ*, the dictate of Nature, by the finger of Nature written in the mindes and hearts of all; and what is *positivum morale*, positively morall, was from the beginning so, knowne and practiced by the Church from *Adam* to *Moses*, when *David* commanded what share of the spoile those should have, who were the reserve to preserve the *stiffe*, Scripture calleth this Ordinance a Law made by *David* to last for ever; yet we know this was God's Ordinance before the Law. The very like is in Statutes and Acts of Parliament declaring the royall Prerogative of a King, that the Subject may the better know it, be put *in malâ fide*, if he violate it, and know what judgement he is to expect.

Lastly, to shut up all this discourse, let us intreat the impartiall reader to cast his eyes upon all storry domestlicke and forraigne, and especially domestlicke, and if they finde not the worst bargaines ever Subjects made, was at any rate to purchase a possession of the sacred rights of Kings; sometimes it hath been no better than *accidisti, possidisti*; it hath been purchased with a great deale of blood. The mercate hath been made by sedition, rebellion, rapine, murder, plundering God and man, and sometimes regained again to it's right owner, but at as deare a rate and price. It is in Morals as in Naturals, *Omne corpus quiescit in suo loco*, an Element without it's place hath never rest, nor the world good by it's operation and influence, till it be replaced and seated in it's right locality. God hath commanded not a *date* but a *redaite*, not a *giving* unto *Cesar* of his right, but a *rendring*, not onely as due, but if it be with-holden or with-drawne to restore him it. The stories of these Kingdomes have too many reall proofes of this truth, I forbear to cite them, or to referre you to them, I with of these dayes, and others like them, that they be never known nor read of hereafter:

*Excidit illa dies, &c.*

But seeing I treat of this purpose divinely, give me leave to speake Gods truth to you, as becommeth Gods servant and a good subject, till those Kingdomes be purged of sacriledge so highly committed *against God*, by wronging his *Anointed*, and his *Church*, and both of them restored to their sacred right, we need not expect true and solid peace, nor the true and effectuall blessings of God. Let us fantasie to our selves this or that accommodation for peace, if God be wronged in his Anointed and Church, we adde onely *fewell* or *oyle* to the fire. Almighty and mercifull God, the

God of all spirits; put in the hearts of all Christians and subjects, to honour him, and in him, and for him, his Anointed and Church, rendering to God what is God's, and to the King what is the King's; that there may be a blessing in these Kingdomes, in our *Jerusalem*; there may be peace within her walles, and prosperity within her gates, that the Crowne which he hath put upon the head of his Anointed our Sovereigne may flourish with him and his Seed for ever, and we and our posterity may live in godlinesse and honesty under him and them, till the coming of our Lord, when he, they, and we shall receive that immortall Crown of eternall glory, which the *King of kings, the Lord of lords*, and chiefe Bishop of our soule hath laid up for all them that feare him. *Amen.*

## CHAP. XV.

*Wherein is examined the Jesuit's Maxime, That every Societie of mankinde is a perfect Republique; and consequently, the Community may supply and rectifie the defects and errors of Sovereignty. And the Puritanes too, that if there were not such a power and super-intendency in People to supply, God had left man remedlesse.*

**T**He Jesuit and Puritane, although they differ in their expressions, agree well in the sense, and intend both of them one conclusion. How this argument *argu blasphemus* may be retorted upon the Jesuit, against his *Nomen terrenum*, the Pope, we told in the preceding Chapter: onely now let the Jesuit give me leave to aske him how a Republique is conceiveable, is imaginable, without a Governour or Governours, and People governed? How can a Society be imagined without order? and how order without priority and posterity? When the Jesuit then saith, that every Society of men is a perfect Republique, and every perfect Republique must have within it selfe as much power as may preserve it selfe from ruine, and right what is amisse, he must necessarily by this Society of men, and Republique mentioned in the premisses understand onely the Community of the People and Subject, in an abstracted notion; from the sovereigne Governour

of Governours: otherwise concludes nothing at all to purpose. And here let me entreat the Jesuit or Puritan to tell me where ever he read the word *Civitas* or *Republique* ascribed to a multitude, a disorderly rout, where there is no Governour. It is like to conceive a politicke bodie without a Governour, as to conceive the naturall bodie without a head. We pardon the Jesuit and Puritan to give us new tenets in policie, seeing they are so bold with God and his Church to give us new tenets in Divinity.

Againe, it is worth our observing, that when our adversaries come to shew where this Republique is, where this Superintendent power is seated, they differ and vary infinitely. It is no wonder to heare the builders of *Babel* speake with different tongues, we are hopefull God in his mercy will scatter them upon the earth, and cast downe *this Babel*. The Jesuites all, for ought I know, doe ascribe this to the Communitie; The Sectaries doe differ infinitely, some warrant any one Subject, any individuall person, to make away a King in this case; and that such a worke is no lesse to be rewarded, then when one killeth a ravenous Wolfe. Some will have it in the whole Communitie with the Jesuite. Some will have it in the Collective body, but how, not met together by the Warrant or Writ of Sovereigne Authority, but when necessity (which is often fantasied and imaginary) of reforming State and Church, calleth them together. Some will have the power in the Nobles and Peeres of the Land. Some in the three States assembled by the Kings Writ. Some in the inferiour Judges. In summe, every one fantasie it to himselfe, as he resolveth to Idoll or serve corruptly the humour and state of the people where he liveth. When these Classicall Authors agree in one, they will make us thinke their tenets sounder, and their courses more warrantable, which I never hope to see, because this spirit of discord God hath put as a Judgement upon all Masters of errors.

I dispute not whether this power be in the Communitie, or in the Collective body, or in the Peeres and Nobles, or in the Inferiour Judges, or in the Parliament, or where else you can imagine it, for I know no where it is to punish or curbe Sovereignty, but in Almighty God. Only I demand of the Jesuite and Sectarie, that seeing wheresoever they put it, they make it the last remedy, the onely remedy to supply all defect, to redresse all wrongs, to set aright what ever is disjoynted in Church or State; *The Subject of this Superintending power must be secured from error in judgement, from error in practise* and how happy are we now that in these late dayes we have a Pope in *temporalibus*, who is no lesse assisted and endowed with the gift and grace of *Infallibilitie*, then the Pope of *Rome* determining *ex Cathedra*. He is too much in love with a Communitie, or with Nobles,

or with Parliaments, or with inferiour Judges, &c. who thinketh or judgeth that they or any of them are secured from error, in the reformation of State or Church.

But on the other side, if the Multitude, the Peeres, the Judges, the Parliaments, are liable to error, and many times actually doe erre; when they erre in this glorious worke of reformation of Church and State, doth not the perfect condition of a perfect Republique require, that there be some authorized with a superintendent power, to rectifie their errors, and to punish their misdemeanours; otherwise God hath left Church and State remediless? they must name this remedy, and by all appearance this must be the Sovereigne againe; and so *Impius ambulat in circuitu*.

If they will, say, that to eschew such a ridiculous regresse and circle betwixt King and people, and people and King, and to shun *Ne detur progressus in infinitum*, that if the Communitie or Parliament erre, the remedy is to be left to the wisdom and justice of God; Why will not the Sectarie acknowledge that it is as fit, when the Sovereigne transgresseth against the right rules of government, that People and Subjects submit in patience, and wait till God send a remedy, either rectifying or removing the bad government?

Where ever you place this Superintending power above a King, I care not much, for it is but an *Idea*, by this same power they who are authorized with it by God and natures right, may call a King to account, censure and punish him for any error or misdemeanour whatsoever, for any one act of injustice: Why might not the people of *Israel*, or Peeres, or *Sanhedrim*, &c. have convened *David* before them, judged and punished him for his adulterie with *Bathsheba*, and his murder of *Uriah*? The *Romanists* and greatest part of Antimonarchicall new Statists, doe acknowledge no case lawfull, but either in *Heresie*, or in *Apostasie*, or in *Tyrannie*; The first two the *Romanists* would have it to the Popes power, and at his discretion, the last, of Tyrannie, all of them doe qualifie thus, *Ut sit universalis, manifesta, & cum obstinatione*; that it be in such Tyrannie, onely which is intended, endeavoured, attempted for the whole and totall destruction of the publike, which cannot fall in the thoughts and attempts of any, but a mad man. What is recorded in *Storie* of *Nero* his wish in this kinde, may be rather judged the expression of a transported passion, then a fixed resolution. Next, this case must be evident, and cleare, as the Sun shine at noone-day. Thirdly, it must be joyned with such perversitie and obstinacie, that it is insepable and invincible by any ordinary humble remonstrance and supplication to the contrary. Although we give it, that it were lawfull in a case.



case so qualified, for the Communitie or any else, to resume their power, and use it to remedy themselves, and to rectifie what is amisse, which we cannot grant; we are very confident that all the wit of the opposites cannot make it appeare, that their case is such at this time. Upon their grounds we see not how by sound reason, nor onely in such case as is expressed onely, but also in every case of male-administration whatever it be, they who have this pretended and fained power, may not use and exercise this superintending and transcendently extravagant power.

I pray you, if this superintending power in the People, Peeres, or Parliament, &c. reasonable in the exigent of great necessity, be the onely meanes and last remedy allowed, and so necessary, that without it neither Church nor State can be preserved in their integrity; how cometh it to passe that we have neither precept nor practise for it in Holy Writ. *Deus & natura non defunt in necessariis*; God and nature are not deficient in things primely necessary. Nothing can be conceived more necessary for State and Church then such a remedy. If then we cannot hit upon expresse and cleare warrant by precept or practise in Scripture, for a matter of so high and necessary concernment, who can be so stupid in a Pythagorian way, to beleve this upon an *avot isä*, upon your Rabbies bare assestion, or trust it upon an Anabaptistickall Enthusiasmo. There is nothing more certaine, then that there is not any thing in Scripture tending that way. If it be, our adversaries are bound to produce it; for *affirmanti incumbit probatio*. He that affirms it to be so, is bound to make his proöfe appeare.

Next, this tenet argues too great a confidence of ourselves, as if to be left to our owne naturall providence, were the onely sufficient competent and perfect meanes of safety and redresse of Church and State. We hereby presume upon our owne strength, that by our selves we are able to rectifie and preserve both Church and State. It is arrogancie too, for hereby we are puffed up with an overweening conceit of our owne pietie and integritie, as if our judgement were so sound, as that it cannot be darkened or corrupted; and our affections so orderly, as they cannot over-rule us in a wrong course, to doe against that is pious and just. I was ever in opinion till now, that *arapaptis*, to be secured from sinne, was the onely propriety of God, and that it is antichristian in the Pope to lay claime to an absolute infallibilitie. But this new Policie will finde the like in the Parliament, the collective body or Communitie.

Thirdly, consider attentively and impartially what you hold, and you will finde it resolve into *Infidelitie* and *Impatience*; *Infidelitie*, that we doe not trust that God is able to doe it; *Impatience*, that we will not wait patiently

tiently till he doe it. The Heathen are nearer to Christianitie in this, then our glorious Reformers. Tacitus saith, *Quomodo sterilitatem, aut nimias imbres, & cetera natura mala, ita luxum vel avaritiam dominantium toleratos; vitia erunt, donec homines, sed neque hac continua & meliorum interventu pensantur.* The safest way in the wise Historians judgement is, to endure the tempests of ill government patiently, as we doe other tempests falling from Heaven; while men are faults will be, but will not be always lasting; and better things will come with compensation of our losses.

Fourthly, it is much better for us that God hath reserved this as a peculiar ease to himselfe to punish Sovereignes, and to rectifie their errors. But for us on the other part to usurpe upon his right, it is no lesse then intrusion upon his divine Prerogative, and carrieth along with it *Morbum complicatum*, a number of sinnes against many of his most glorious attributes. 1. It wrongeth God in his *glorious wisdom*, that he hath not prepared such a remedy for us in this case; nay, it putteth *foolishnesse* upon him, that in this case he hath commanded patience, and so left us totally remediless. 2. It wrongeth God in his *glorious power*, by making him weak, that by no other means he could set aright what is disjoynted in Church and State. 3. It wrongeth his *Holinesse*; who for the necessary support of Church and State by these means, is necessitated for effecting the worke most concerneth him and his glory, to have and use the helpe of sinfull men, nay, even of their sinnes. 4. To what is said adde this, that this principle of theirs dishonoureth Christian Religion; it turneth Religion into Rebellion, Faith into Faction, and Christian obedience into disloyall Treason. Nothing is more powerfull to deterre Kings from comming to the profession of Reformed Catholique Religion, then to hold that such a Superintendent power is in People or Parliament, to censure and unking Christian Kings.

Fifthly, Christian obedience and sobriety teacheth us to leave all evils in Church and State, by those means God himselfe hath appointed, and when the ordinate means doe it not, or doe to the contrary, we are to keepe our selves pure; possesse our selves with patience; and referre the remedy to God, who hath reserved this to himselfe: We ought not to justle God out of his right. Before we have said, that Scripture affoords no warrant by precept or practise to the Communitie, the collective or representative body to doe it; But now we adde, for them to doe it, by opposing or resisting Sovereignty is in Scripture exprelly forbidden: *Roman. 13. 2. Whosoever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Of this more *Quaest. 5.* We must therefore closely adhere to what God hath commanded, not turning

to the left hand, to obey unlawfull things commanded by *the Sovereign*; nor to the right hand, with violence to resist lawfull authority. Let all Subjects remember, that in the day of their accounts, the charge will be to all *single* or *jointly* considered, *Who hath required these things at your hands?* Who hath made you Judges and Executers of matters of so high concernment? And though it be pretended and possibly intended too, that the worke so done shall make much for *the glory of God*; *the good of the Church*, *the liberty and happinesse of the Subject*, it will not take us off. *We must not doe evil that good may come of it*: Rom. 3. 8. To doe God a piece of good service against his will manifested, is not to acquit our selves as *his humble servants*, but to prove us *his arrogant and proud masters*. He is most glorified when his voice is obeyed: 1 Sam. 15. 22. God standeth not in need of wicked man, nor of his sinfull wayes. It was a pious intention *Uzzas* had, when he put out his hand to save the Arke from falling: yet because it was above his charge, God did strike him presently dead, 2 Sam. 6. 6. 1 Chron. 13. 10. It is not enough for these Reformers to be assured in their consciences, that the worke they intend and are about, tends to a good, religious, and pious effect: but they must have a sufficient warrant from written truth, that they are warranted and called to this worke.

Sixthly, as it is against piety, it is against prudence and the good of Politie: prudence doth not allow us to loose what reall good we have in present possession, for any future good which we have onely in uncertaine expectation. By this projected course of our *New-Statist Divines* we loose a good conscience, fall in actuall disobedience and rebellion against the Lord, and his Anointed. We refuse Gods triall, and with an unwarrantable, indiscreet, and unseasonable zeale for Religion, and our temporary good, come contrary to God and his Commandements. We intervert, nay, shake off the glory that God expecteth by our tryals, and cannot, dare not, expect Gods blessing to our endeavours. If the root be evill the fruit can be no better. Who may expect a blessing to a sinfull and rebellious course? Doth he allow us to doe wrong, and seeke an opportunity to doe good? God alloweth no evill, but onely permittech it, and that because he is able to worke good out of evill; which is as inseparably proper to God alone as the immensitie of his power: it is infinitely a superlative presumption for us to presume upon the like. We cannot expect any blessing without a promise, and have no interest in the promise; but when our acts and workes presuppose obedience to his precepts. By such a course as you prescribe, we make the precept of God of none effect. Our  
excuse

excuse in this case will prove no better then the *Pharisees* who taught their Disciples, doing things unlawfull, to say *Corban*, God shall have profit by it, in the good we shall doe to Church and State. When we come to judgement our workes shall witnesse against us, and our good intentions will not save us; you know it is commonly and truly said, Hell is full of good intentions, and Heaven of good workes.

Seventhly, if we looke upon the practise recorded in Scripture, when Gods people were delivered from bondage or captivity, or when grievances in Church and State were rectified and reformed, God never gave warrant to the Communitie or to the *Sanhedrim*, but did it by his owne high hand, or authorized a Sovereigne, and put it in his heart and power to doe it. Look upon the bondage of *Egypt* which lasted 250 yeares, God did not use or authorize the people to deliver themselves by a strong hand, but sent and authorized *Moses*, *Exod. 3. 10.* Come now saith the Lord, and I will send thee; a calling he had, authority from God he had, and it proved successfull. Some pious and learned men are of the opinion, that when *Moses* rescued the *Israelites*, and killed the *Egyptian*, he did offer himselfe a Protector and Deliverer to his nation, but that for his unwarrantable intention and attempt, he was forced to flee, and with 40 yeares penance and repentance wash away that guiltinesse. As I dare not condemne them confidently, yet I trust such is their charitie, to allow me in modestie to dissent from them. First, because I hold it a good rule, not rashly to condemne the extraordinary acts of the Saints, when they are not evidently in Scripture condemned; it is Saint *Austin's* rule. Next, because of Saint *Stephen's* testimony, who *Acts 7.* expresseth so much, that this was a *proludium*, an evidence that God was to send him to be their Deliverer. I am certainly assured that God did not thinke it a fit way by *Moses* and the people of *Israel* sword to worke his deliverance. But forty yeares after sent *Moses* clothed with his immediate Commission, to command *Pharaoh* his Vicegerent to let his people goe; and authorized *Moses* his Vice-roy over his owne people, that so the peoples obedience to his servant *Moses*, and to the word delivered in his name, might be without check or wrong of conscience in regard of their allegiance. It is very observable and conduicible to our purpose, that God did not deliver his people by the wisdom of *Moses*, or strength of the people, or any act that way of theirs, but did with an high hand by his owne immediate might and power. God thereby declaring to us, that before he would authorize his owne people to doe it, which had beene a bad president for ever for rebellion, he would rather put himselfe to paines to worke extraordinary and wonderfull miracles.

So in the booke of the *Judges*, when the people were delivered over into the hands of their enemies, because of their finnes: He never warranted and authorized the ordinary Judges or *Commissaries* to be their Deliverers, but the Text saith expressly: that when they groaned under their oppression, and repented of their finnes, God *raised up a Judge*. Is not this a reall proofe, God will not have inferiour Judges, or the *Communitie*, to rectifie what is amisse, but we must in patience wait till he provide lawfull meanes, some Sovereigne power immediately sent by himselfe to doe it; in which course in his ordinary providence he will never be deficient: although the extraordinary way be ceased, if we will repent us truly of our finnes, and wait in patience for the salvation of our God. Is it not worth your labour to observe when the gracious deliverance came to *Israel* from the Captivitie of *Babylon*, which lasted 70 yeares: that his people had no hand, no part in it; not to contribute the least auxiliarie helpe, but God effected it by the hand of *Cyrus* his Anointed. immediately and totally? Appareth it not clearly by this, how carefull God hath beene in his providence, that people may not right themselves by their owne doing, not when they are under greatest pressures; highest oppressions? for what were the Kings of *Babylon*, but to speake in our adversaries diction, *Tyranni cum titulo*? who acquired Sovereignty over them by conquest, their consent being *causis causantibus*, voluntarily involuntary.

Lastly, for these popular reformations lately so much cried up, as the best, the most divine, the most warrantable, methinkes are most unwarrantably magnified. It is not to be denied, but people are much taken with such Doctrines, and are very ambitious to be reformers of Church and State: And subtle factious spirits have great advantages to worke on the people and their weake understandings, for there can be no government either in Church or State so eminently perfect, where something might not be wished to be amended. No government is so commodious, which is not attended with some inconveniencies: that as the *Comit* saith, *his hic cum illis habenda, aut illa cum his amittenda sunt*: from those inconveniencies in government, crafty and discontented men take occasion, to presse upon the weaker sort (which is most numerous) the present inconveniencies, shew them their interest, how in conscience they are bound, and by God warranted to put to their hand, promise them not onely a share in the glorious works of reformation, but also to free them from all errors and pressures, to mould and frame such a *Utopia* in the State; and such a *Paradise* of the Church, that shall not want any thing but Christ to come and reigne actually and personally amongst them, which they expect as I heare, and



and have desired the time. When people are deceived thus and transported, these *Abisophels*, *Abissolans*, and *Shekes*, desire the assistance of the people to bring this happy change about. They obtaine it, engage their souls by Oathes, Covenants, and Perjury, and engage them so much in Treason and Rebellion, that life, state, fortune, and honour lie at the stake, come off they cannot. By which means they get into their hands surreptitiously an *arbitrary power*, the thing they most feared, most abhorred, and practise it too. And although the people are made to beleve, that they all and the whole are interested, yet really and truly some few domineere. They command what supplies they will, of *Men, Armes, and Munitions*; seize all Forts, presse all Horfes, &c. and that in that way, in that quantity they thinke necessary, which must be obeyed; otherwise they are not sufficiently enabled to bring about such a great worke, reformation of Church and State, and preservation of the people. This is the way by which these principles finde easie admittance upon popular affections, but cunning subtilty doth so abuse them, that they are cheated out of their wits, and follow courses destructive to themselves, and bring upon them the evils they most feared. It is not reason that will right these deceived and abused fooles, *reason must be unlearned, by which most is lost*, miserie will be the first competent instructor to undeceive them. The doctrine and reasons we first bring to the contrary of this tenet, we know assuredly they will not relish them; but the contrary use will be made, to incense a mad people and make them more mad: yet much forceth us to speake, for *this resistance*, when they come to their wits, they will curse their *Generalists*, and forsake their principles.

First then, I demand of those who so magnifie popular reformations, as the onely best, most perfect and absolute remedie of what is amisse in Church and State; who have hath read Scripture, or by experience hath remarked the temper and constitution of the multitude, can beleve that Almighty God hath committed such a trust to them? Is there one of a thousand, if you must see *or Solomon*, amongst them of understanding? Was ever any act done by them but in a tumultuary way? And is not their reformation attended with *sum and vilenery*, impiety against God, sacred persons, sacred places, sacred things? Have not these so-called reformations beene acted, prosecuted with open and crying injustice; not onely against innocents but well-deserving men?

Secondly, I desire them to shew me in Scripture, or in Ecclesiasticall and Catholick Historie, any popular reformations of Church or State, happy and successful, which they standge in a high judgement the instant contrary over-

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ted; and till they give instances *contra propositum* not questioned, by their  
favour they onely begge the question: When God established both Po-  
licie and Church, after the deliverance of his people from the house of  
bondage, he would not doe it, but by *Moses* his Sovereigne Vicerooy, King  
of *Israhel*; Deut. 31. 7. *Thus did the like* 7of. 24. The Judges raised  
by God as they delivered the people from their slavery; so they rectified  
what was amisse in Church and State. What desolations were there in  
Church and State in *Saul's* reigne? Both State and Church in the solemn-  
ity and sincerity of the worship in the dayes of *David* came to their *Edi-  
fice*, to their highest perfection and beauty. Read you, I pray you, of  
any doing in it but by *David* the King, with the advise & direction of some  
Church-men? Afterwards when it was corrupted, who made the refor-  
mation? None but he who was King or Sovereigne: as *Joash* 2 Chron.  
24. *Ezekias*, 2 Chron. 29, 30, 31. *Josiah*, 2 Chron. 34, 35. *Ezra*, *Esd.*

To make Covenants against King or Sovereigne, pretending or intend-  
ing, if you will so, the reformation of Religion, where read you it. The  
first Covenant of a people formed into a politique body, is that you read  
*Exod.* 24. Had either the Communitie, the collective or representative  
body any other hand in it then to obey, as *Moses* King of *Israhel* com-  
manded? *Israhel* made another, 7of. 24. consider the place, and see if  
either *Tables* or *Parliament* framed it, urged it. You have another,  
2 Chron. 15. but it is done and pressed by the royall authority of *Asa* the  
King. You have another, 2 Chron. 34. but it is the Act of *Josiah* the  
King. The like you read of *Esd.* 8, *Esd.* 10. If any object the Covenant  
of *Jehoiada* in the non-age of *Joash*. Let them be pleased to remember  
that this was the High Priests act, not as High Priest, but as Governour to  
the King. By the same power he did it, by which he dethroned *Athaliah*,  
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To conclude, seeing then to establish the people to be the last and best remedy to rectifie all errors in State, in Church, establisheth so many absurdities and paradoxes, and hath no warrant by Scripture, sound reason, or experience, we can neither beleieve it, nor approve it: for to averre and affirme that a Community is diffusive, collective, or representative, is a perfect Republique to preserve it selfe, and to right what is amisse, abstracting the notion of a Republique, from the Sovereigne government or governours, is a notion not imaginable, nor ever used by any who ever wrote or spoke right in Politic. It securreth the multitude from error both in matters concerning Church and State. There is neither precept nor practise in Holy Writ, to warrant that the multitude have such a superintendent power above their Sovereignes. Nay, Scripture commandeth us the contrary, not to assume this power, or to resist the higher powers, under no lesse paine then

then damnation: This maxime resolves into infidelity, that we trust not God can doe it, or will doe it; and into impatience, that we will not waite patiently till he doe it. Christian obedience and sobriety teacheth us to reserve the rectifying of the Sovereigne, and his errors in Government, to God himselfe. We must not serve God against his will, nor without an expresse warrant for our doing so. By doing, as our new Statists warrant us, we runne into Rebellion, and loose a good conscience in dutifull obedience and humble submission, and prejudice God of that glory he expecteth by our tryals. We must not doe evill that good may come of it, nor upon pretences of good intentions and good effects to follow upon such courses, prove our selves to be proud masters, and forsake to be Gods humble servants. In all deliverances God bestowed upon his owne people, in his wonderfull providence he effected them, either by his owne immediate hand, or by some other hands, not permitting or allowing to his people any share in the worke, foreseeing how we would make it, if it had bene otherwise, a bad president for rebellious courses. Popular reformations are neither warrantable, nor successfull. The multitude are most of all unfitted for preserving Church or State. In Scripture we have no reformations recorded, but onely such as have bene acted by the authority of the Sovereigne. Many popular tumultuary courses we finde attempted and effected by the people, to the hurt and ruine of Church and Commonwealth. Wherefore let every one, and all of Subjects, be subject to superiour powers, in obedience to that is good, and in patience suffering what is evill, waiting patiently till God in his appointed time send reliefe, and deliver his Church and us from pressing and oppressing evils.

## CHAP. XVI.

Wherein is examined that Maxime, *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* And the other, That the people may be without a King, but a King cannot be without people.

THIS vulgar Maxime, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, was one of the Lawes of the XII. Tables. It was made for a Democraecie, and bath in it a good and warrantable sense, if it be rightly taken in its proper mean-  
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and have defined the time. When people are deceived thus and transported, these *Absolutes*, *Absolons*, and *Shebs* desire the assistance of the people to bring this happy change about. They obtain it, engage their souls by Oathes, Covenants, and Perjury, and engage them so much in Treason and Rebellion, that life, state, fortune, and honour lie at the stake, come off they cannot. By which means they get into their hands surreptitiously an *arbitrary power*, the thing they most feared, most abhorred, and practise it too. And although the people are made to beleve, that they all and the whole are interested, yet really and truly some few domineer. They command what supplies they will, of *Men, Armes, and Munitions*; seize all Forts, presse all Horses, &c. and that in that way, in that quantity they thinke necessary, which must be obeyed; otherwise they are not sufficiently enabled to bring about such a great worke, reformation of Church and State, and preservation of the people. This is the way by which these principles finde easie admittance upon popular affections, but cunning subtilty doth so abuse them, that they are cheated out of their wits, and follow courses destructive to themselves, and bring upon them the evils they most feared. It is not reason that will right these decieved and abused sooles, *medicines* must be *medicines*, *no vias* *remedy* *is* *any* *miserie* will be the first competent instructor to undeceive them. The doctrine and reasons we first bring to the contrary of this tenet, we know assuredly they will not relish them; but the contrary use will be made, to incense a mad people and make them more mast: yet truth forceth us to speake, for *Ubi respondit*, when they come to their wits, they will curse their *Camalists*, and forsake their principles.

First then, I demand of those who so magnifie *popular* reformations, as the onely best, most perfect and absolute remedie of what is amisse in Church or State; who that hath read Scripture, or by experience hath remarked the temper and constitution of the multitude, can beleve that Almighty God hath committed such a trust to them? Is there one of a thousand, if you must see *Job* or *Salomon*, amongst them of understanding? Was ever any act done by them but in a *tumultuary* way? And is not their reformation attended with *sway* and *villany*, impiety against God, sacred persons, sacred places, sacred things? Have not these self-called reformations bene acted, persecuted with open and crying injustice, not onely against innocents but well-deserving men?

Secondly, I desire them to shew in Scripture, or in *Becksfitt* and *bohemick* storie any *popular* reformations of Church or State, happy and successful: what they alledge in this last age, are the instances controverted;



ted; and till they give instances *contra propositum* not questioned, by their favour they onely begge the question. When God established both Politie and Church, after the deliverance of his people from the house of bondage, he would not doe it, but by *Moses* his Sovereign Victorie, King of *Jehoram*; Deut. 33: *Jehoram* did the like; Jos. 24. The Judges raised by God as they delivered the people from their slavery; so they rectified what was amisse in Church and State. What desolations were there in Church and State in *Saul's* reigne? Both State and Church in the solemnity and sincerity of the worship in the dayes of *David* came to their *Zel* *nib*, to their highest perfection and beauty. Reade you, I pray you, of any doing in it but by *David* the King; with the advise & direction of some Church-men? Afterwards when it was corrupted, who made the reformation? None but he who was King or Sovereigne: as *Josab*; 2 *Chron.* 24. *Ezechias*; 2 *Chron.* 29, 30, 31. *Josab*; 2 *Chron.* 34, 35. *Ezra*, *Esd.*

To make Covenants against King or Sovereigne, pretending or intending, if you will so, the reformation of Religion, where read you it. The first Covenant of a people formed into a politique body, is that you read *Exod.* 34. Had either the Communitie, the collective or representative body any other hand in it then to obey, as *Moses* King of *Jehoram* commanded? *Josab* made another; Jos. 24. consider the place, and see if either *Tables* or *Parliament* framed it; urged it. You have another, 2 *Chron.* 15. but it is done and pressed by the royall authority of *Asa* the King. You have another, 2 *Chron.* 34. but it is the Act of *Josab* the King. The like you reade of *Ezra*, *Esd.* 10. If any object the Covenant of *Jehojada* in the non-age of *Josab*. Let them be pleased to remember that this was the High Priests act, not as High Priest, but as Governour to the King. By the same power he did it, by which he dethroned *Athaliah*, armed the Subjects, and enthroned *Josab*. Shew me one Covenant in the booke of God, which was made without the King, except it be a Covenant with hell and death; or as *Judas* covenanted with the *Jewes* to sell and betray his Master. Or such a Covenant as the Prophet *Hosea* speaketh of, Chap. 10. vers. 3, 4. For now they shall say, we have no King; because we feared not the Lord; what then should a King doe unto us? They have spoken words, swearing falsely, in making a Covenant; thus judgement springeth up as *Hemlocke* in the furrowes of the field.

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ing. But as it is abused and perverted by our *Mis-monarchicall Statists and Sectaries*, it hath been the mother of much mischief.

The Sectaries who abuse it, understand it so largely, at least make the people conceive so, that all Government and Superiority in Governours and Superiours is primely, nay, onely for the Subjects and Inferiours good. This holds not; for some Government and Governours are by God and Nature appointed for the mutuall and inseperable good of the Governour and Governed, of the Superiour and Inferiour, as in *maritali regimine & in paterno*, as in the maritall and fatherly Government. Some Governours are primely, principally, and properly for the good of the Superiour and Governour, as in *herili dominio*, in the Government of a lord and servant; where the good and benefit of the servant is but *secondary* and *consequentially* intended; it is not the principall end, but the externall and adventitious; as the gaine that commeth to a Physician by his practise, is not the proper internall and principall end of his Art, Science, and practise, but *consequitur ad medicinam*, it followeth and attendeth his skill and practise.

What can our Adversaries say of a Title acquired to a Kingdome by lawfull Conquest? that such a Title is good, and a King may be lawfull King by Conquest merely, without the consent of the People, is so evident in Scripture as it cannot be denied. In this case, the good and benefit of the Conquerour is the prime thing and principall. The Conquerour may dispose of it at pleasure for his owne good, as *Solomon* did give *Cabul* to *Hiram*.

Moreover, according to the Jesuit's and Puritan's grounds, as a man may render himselfe totally under the power of a master, without any conditions, or limitations, or bounds whatsoever; why may not the body of a People do the like, to have peace and safety, surrender themselves fully into the power of a King? May not a Lord of many great Manours and Lands (if the Lawes of the Countrey do not forbid it) admit no man to live and gain by living within his Territories and Countries, but upon condition of a full surrender of himselfe, his posterity, and all belonging to him, into his Lords power? Doth not *Tacitus* tell us, that anciently amongst the Germans every Head of the Familie was *Father, King, and Priest*; and that all the tenants of his Territories had no more corne for meat, no more number of flocks, no more for use of cloathes, then it pleased their Lord to allow them? *Suam quisque familiam, suo penates regis; frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis colono iungit, & servum balteus patet.*

May not a disorderly multitude, without order and government, or any sub-

subordination at all (this is impossible, but let us take it as probable because imaginable) conceiving safety and good to themselves, totally surrender themselves into the power of one to rule over them hereditarily. Or may not a People in a formed and framed politicke body upon the receipt of a great benefit, as deliverance by one from a mighty oppression, surrender themselves thus totally to their deliverer and his successours? It is not improbable, that the Israelites did offer some such condition to Gideon and his posterity, for the great deliverance they had from the Midianites by his sword, *Judges 8*. Did not the *Campani* in this way, if we may trust *Livie*, subject themselves totally to the people of *Rome*? *Populum Campanum*, saith he in the words of their chiefe heads, *Urbemq; Capuam, agros, delubra deum, divina, humanaq; omnia in vestram P. C. ditionem dedimus*. O noble Senators, we surrender and give up unto your dition and power, the people of *Campania*, our City *Capua*, our Lands, the Temples of our gods, and what divine and humane things are ours. By what is said, it is more than apparent, that this Maxime, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, Let the good and safetie of the people be the supreme Law is not an universall dictate of Nature, a paramount Law, which is universally verified of all Government and Governours.

This speech is as much abused, when by these new Statists it is applied to Monarchie. I most heartily grant that, the preservation of the peace and safetie of Subjects and People is the *prime end* in the constitution of all Government, but it is not the *sole and adequate end*. The *complete, adequate, and perfect end of Government* in Monarchy, is *Salus Regis & Populi*, the safety of King and People. Notwithstanding the safety and good of the People may be called the *prime and principall end* in the constitution of *Monarchical Government*, because it is most agreeable with the *joint interest of King and People*. It is a word exceeding well bebecoming a King, to say, *Salus Populi suprema lex esto*, let the safety of the People be the *Paramount Law*. There is no doubt that the King ought to proportion all his Lawes to this end, this is just, this is necessary, this is honourable, this is advantageous to the King: who that is wise will not provide as much as he is able, for the good, safety, plenty, and peace of those, in whose happiness is his glory, and in whose destruction his own is involved? and on the other hand it becometh Subjects well to say, *Salus Regis suprema lex esto*, and to proportion all their obedience, endeavours, and actions for the safety, honour, power, happiness, and glory of their King. It is impossible the Subject can have peace or safety, where the Sovereigne and his Privilege are weakened so that he cannot command and protect,

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To reason from the one part of the end of Monarchicall Government, the safety, and the good of the Subjects, to the destruction or weakening of the other part of the end, of the power of Sovereignty, and the royall Prerogative, is the sophisme which the Schoole calleth *a divisio*. Nor can we imagine a possible or probable existence of the good and right of the Subject, without a pre-existence of the entire Sovereignty and Prerogative in the King: this is easily demonstrable, if we consider what was the prime end of the institution or constitution of Kings. By uniforme and universall consent it is acknowledged to be for this purpose primely to preserve People in peace, plenty, and safety. If the King then be not authorised and furnished with sufficient power to worke this effect, how can the People expect it? By the suffrage of our anti-monarchicall opposites it is granted, that the multitude and people were at first necessitated to submit themselves *unum imperio*, to the government of one King, and to commit themselves, their lives, their lawes, their fortunes, to his trust and power, because they knew such was their weaknesse, that they had not wisdom enough to rule themselves, to foresee, and prevent dangers, nor power enough to protect them from wrong of the more powerfull either living amongst them, or nearly adjoynd to them. And for this cause in their opinion accorded that for honour and power he should be sufficiently enabled to act and perfect all these acts of Government, and to effect and produce those ends, *his own & their happinesse*: nor doubted they to entrust him with Majesty (the word *Majesty* speaketh two things, *summum honorem & summam potestatem*, supremest honour, and supremest power) being assured that his interest was so involved in theirs, that he could not chuse but most earnestly and carefully endeavour this end: by which premises, (which are their own) it is most certain, that *Salus Populi*, the safety of the People, issueth from *Salus Regis*, the safety of the King, no lesse than the life of the naturall body from the soule that enlivneth it: notwithstanding we thinke they should speake more divinely, if with the dialect of holy Scripture, they would say, that Almighty God knowing that no society of mankind could be, nor happinesse in that society without Government, ordained for this, and that Government should be, and the Governours entirely endowed and enabled with power and honour to do it; and that conformable to his own Government, at first he in Paradise fixed this Government in the person of one *Adam*, and provided for the continuance and succession of ir, that it should be transmitted to the first-borne in default of the father. God knew it well, that it was better not to be at all than to be without Government: and that weake Government is the

equivalent of Anarchy and no Government. *Saint Paul* knew not how quiet, peace, godlinesse, or honesty could be without Government. I do thinke our Puritans are not so much in love with schoole-tenets as to hold, that *Quovis modo esse*, nay, *Pœnale esse* is better *quàm non esse*; seeing Scripture hath spoken the contrary, that it is better never to have been borne, better that a milstone were put about their necke and cast into the sea, than to be in a pœnall condition, and that some shall seek to die for ease but shall not finde it. Heathen Politicians tell us, *Tyrannis potior Anarchiâ*, Tyranny is better than no Government.

Scripture is plain and powerfull enough for this truth, that no safety can be to mankind without the safety of Sovereignty, and of the prerogative of Governour and Government, *Exod. 20*. It is the first precept of the second Table, *Honora patrem, &c.* Honour thy father; where by father is principally (according to the Commentaries of ancient and moderne Divines) meant the King: then followeth, *Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steale, &c.* To intimate to us that neither life, nor chastity, nor goods, nor honour, nor fame, nor any thing else can be preserved, except the King have his right.

The expressions of Scripture are admirably emphaticall to import, that in the King and his strength is all our safety, our life, our happiness. The King is called *Lament. 4. 20. The breath of our nostrils*; this place it seemeth, alludeth to that *Gen. 11. 7*. He is called, the *Head of his Subjects*, *2 Sam. 21. 17. He is the light of his people*, *2 Sam. vers. 2*, He is their shepherd and pastour, *Psal. 78. 71*. The Heathen call Kings *πομπας τῶ λαῷ*, They are the nurse-fathers of the Church, *Isay 49. 23*. and *40. 26*. The King is the head-stone of the corner, *Psal. 118. 23*. The same in the State, that Christ is in the Church, *Isay 28. 16*. *1 Pet. 11. 6*. The Greek word βασιλεὺς implieth as much, that he is the very bottome and foundation upon which the publicke good of the whole State, and the private good of every one is founded and built. Excellent expressions they be, diametrically opposed to the divinitie and policy of this miserable age. The King is the breath of our nostrils, then no life without him; he is our Head, then all life, sense, and perfection in him, all motion from him, and the influence of his Government; he is our light, nothing then but Egyptiack darknesse and blindnesse without him, without his Government; he is our shepherd, then no maintenance, no entertainment without him; he is the corner-stone, then nothing but he can tie mankind together in a peaceable and comfortable societie; nay, he is the foundation, the corner-stone, and head-stone of the corner, upon whom all is built and grounded, in whom

all are conjoynd, and by whom all are protected. Turne it over again; take away the King, you take away our life, our breath; weaken him, we faint, we pant; hurt the Head, you distemper all the body; weaken the Head, and you feeble both hand and foot, and all parts and members of the body; finite the shepherd, the flocke will be scattered; if the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do? If the corner-stone be pulled out, the side-walles and whole fabrique must fall; if the head-corner-stone be removed, there is no protection against the tempest, but raine and storme will spoile the whole building,

Saint *Paul* hath a short but a most pithie expression of the good issueth from the supreme power upon all, *Rom. 13. 3.* *Tibi in bonum*, he is the Minister of God to thee for good: this Indefinite *Tibi*, to thee, implieth as much as the Minister of God by his immediate Ordinance and Ordination, *is for thy good whosoever thou be*; be thou Nobleman, be thou Gentleman, be thou Citizen, be thou Countrey-man, be thou Church-man, be thou Layman, he is for the good of all, of the whole politicke Body joyntly, and he is for the good of every individuall and particular person singly; for our good from God they are sent, for our good to us they come. If Kings were not, we should be as the fishes of the sea, the greater destroying the smaller, or as the beasts of the forest, the strong destroying the weaker, *Hab. 1. 14.* Saint *Chrysostome* explaining these words, *1 Tim. 2. 2.* *ἵνα ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἡρεσὶν ἔσται δαίμων, καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἡρεσὶν ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἀναπαύσεται.* Where the Apostle saith, *that we may live a quiet and peaceable life*, that is to say, saith the holy Father, *Our security subsists in their safety.*

It is worthy your notice taking that in the Book of *Judges*, where it is recorded that all disorder was in the Church and State, the reason is so often given and repeated, *Because in those dayes, there was no King in Israel*; you read it *cap. 17. 6. & 18. 1. & 19. 1. & 21. 25.* which words import not simply, that there was no Government in those dayes, none can be so stupid to imagine it, but the Spirit of God intimateth two things to us: 1 the one is, that they wanted Monarchy the most excellent of Governments. 2 The other is, that the Government, then Aristocraticall was so weakened, that in Church and State nothing was sound, the grossest enormities did abound, and there was no strength in Authority to right it: review the story, There was no King this time, and consequently, there was all mischief this time, and therefore a fit time to shake off the old, and bring in a new Religion. *Micah* and his old doting Mother will have a Religion of their own, an Idoll of their own, a trencher-Chaplain of their own, there is nothing to let it. No matter for sacred Orders, if a Levite may

may be had it is better, otherwise it skilleth not much. The reason is given in the Text, *In diebus illis, &c.* in those ill dayes there was no King in Israel. I wish we were so happy that these times of ours had no resemblance with that time. Well, but it is no great matter for Religion, if every man can enjoy his liberty, his honour, his peace, live in safety, what is Religion to us? If this be Religion, these times want not professors too too many. It will not rest here, although every man have liberty or licence rather in Anarchy to have, and to profess what Religion he will, the same Scripture telleth us, *Where no King is*, rapine and spoile will be; where no King is, plundering will be good justice; every mans lands, revenues, and chattels may be *fortiter occupantur*, the stronger may disceize the weaker; you shall have the Tribe of Dan to spoile too. Nor is this all, *The men of Gibeah* will abuse the Levit's wife, nay, do it avowedly, abuse her to death; it is no great danger to act and do what mischief you will, *where no King is*. No man's soule, wife, life, or goods can be secured, *where no King is*. Idols may be erected, murder may be acted and allowed, men robbed of their goods, and all this good service, *for the glory of God and the good cause*. Consider again, how universall these mischiefs are, you have *Micah* a private man, *Gibeah* a Citie, *Dan* a Tribe, all out of order and course. Religion is defaced, Justice is abused, honesty and civill morall conversation is shaken off; dishonestly, impiety, uncleannesse are avowed. Again consider, *Micah* was at Mount *Ephraim* in the midst of the Land, *Gibeah* was at one end of the Countrey, and *Dan* at the other, so that these mischiefs were not confined to one corner, but were spread over all the Land. And seeing Scripture repeates it, let us repeat it too, all these disorders, all these mischiefs were, because *in those dayes there was no King in Israel*. Turne it over again, no better way to keep Religion sincere and incorrupt, men's lives, and wives, honour, goods, and possessions in safety; to secure them from murder, abuse, oppression, than by *Kings*. No doubt, Priests there were then, but either they would not serve at all, or then the Priests were over-awed by the disorderly and sinfull multitude, *Hos. 4.* or did prescribe their Text, give them Commentaries, taught them what to say, what to preach. No doubt, in those dayes Judges they had, but justice was not done, or if done, at pleasure, otherwise Judges were posted and signed with a *nigrum thesa*, marked to be stoned by a rascally multitude. Though Priests be in the Church, and Judges be in the Land, they are not able to guard the publique or private from wrong; wherefore it is most consonant with Scripture to say, *Salus Regis suprema Populi salus*, the safety of the King and his divine royall Prerogative is the safest Sanctuary for the People.

*Ubi non est gubernator populi cor net*, so readeth Saint Hierome Solomons words. I referre my selfe in this to the consciences and experience of the King's Subjects, what hath been the securitie or comfort they have had in perion, state, or goods, since the Lord's Anointed the best of Kings hath been wronged. O, if they durst speake ! O if they would speake !

The Prophet *Hoseah* cap. 3. 4. threatneth as the greatest of judgements in this world, *That the children of Israel shall be many dayes without a King.* Listen I pray you to what followeth, *and without a Prince*, that is, there shall be no Nobility ; and what more ? *and without a sacrifice* ; that is, there shall be no Religion, no true Priest. The same Prophet, cap. 10. 3. sheweth they shall have no King, because they feared not the Lord. The Prophet *Jeremie* Lam. 11. 9. lamenteth first that their *Kings were captives* ; then, that they had no Nobility, *for their Princes were captives too* ; then, *the Law is no more* ; Justice is gone with the King ; and then, *the Prophets finde no vision from the Lord* ; Religion is gone too. Will not all this lead us to better thoughts, a better esteem of *Salus Regis*, of the safety of the King, the presertring of his divine Right, and royall Prerogative ? It may be our zealots account those Prophets no better than Court Parasites.

*Cyprian*, or some other ancient Authour masked under his name, summeth up shortly but pithily the happinesse of People in a King, *de 12 abusib. Saculi* cap. 9. in fine. *Est pax populorum, tutamen patria, immunitas plebis, munimentum gentis, cura languorum, gaudium hominum, temperies aëris, serenitas maris, terra fecunditas, solatium pauperum, &c.* The words are plain enough, they need no interpretation.

What meane they then who magnifie this Maxime, *Salus Populi suprema lex esto*, let the safety of the People be the supreme Law, to call it in a narrow sense, abstracting a *salute Regis*, from the safety of the King, *The transcendent axiom of all Politiques* ; the *Paramont Law* that giveth Law to all Lawes whatsoever, that the Law of Prerogative is selfe is subservient to this Law, and were it not conducing thereunto it were not necessary nor expedient. Some more superlatively excessive commendations the *Observer* and others give unto this Maxime ; which how they cohere with what we have brought from Scripture, and said by it's warrant, I humbly submit to the intelligent, to the impartiall Reader ; and come to consider the no lesse lame, than extravagant consequences the *Observer* deduceth from this understood and abused Maxime. They be foure, which when we look upon them inwardly are such, as never Saint of God, nor sound Politician thought of before ; we shall follow him in his order.

The first Consequence that he knits with this Antecedent, *The safety of*  
the



the people is the supreme Law, is an *Ergo*, *The King is bound in duty to promote all and every one of his Subjects to all happiness*. Certainly, there is more in the Conclusion than is virtually included in the premisses; for when *Salus Populi*, the safety of the people, to which the King is tyed, to conclude *omnis felicitas populi*, all happiness of the people, and with that large extent, to all and every one, may well be answered with a *non sequitur*, that the Consequence is lame: the reason is cleare, *Salus populi* may subsist with *Felicitas populi*, *Felicitas dicit quid majus*; the safety of the people may subsist without the felicity of the people, for felicity of the people is the safety of the people, and somewhat more. I demand of the *Observer* and his Complices who ever heard that either *by the Law of God, Nature, or common equity*, the King is bound to promote *all and every of his Subjects to all happiness*? God is not so rigorous a Task-master: nor is the notion of the word [*protect*] either in it's native or used sense, to which the King is bound, so large, as to tye him to promote all and every Subject to all happiness. It is not imaginable, the tenderest-hearted father or mother can do this to their best beloved childe, nor doth God or Nature require it. Doth the *Observer* by such consequences intend to make a Kings charge intolerable, God unjust to impose it, a King unable to do it, and resolves to condemne all Kings who do not so provide for the happiness of all and every one of his Subjects in the highest measure? Who will deny but every King is bound to levell all his actions, intentions, and endeavours, for the peace, plenty, and safety of his Subjects in common? but to put this burthen on the King which neither he nor his fathers were able to beare, is too hard a measure. We may expect this from his goodness and bounty, we cannot charge it upon him as necessary, and incumbent to him of duty.

Are not all and every one of Subjects by duty and oath tyed to *Salus Regis*, to provide for his safety, honour, wealth, and power? Are not we sworne to it in the *Oath of Allegiance*, to assist and defend all Priviledges, preeminences, and rights belonging to *His Highness, his Heires, and Successors*, or annexed to the *Imperiall Crown of this Realme*: if all have not taken this Oath, all borne in his Majesties Dominions are bound to it; of all it may be actually exacted: and the *Statute 5. Eliz. cap. 1.* ordaines that all *Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgeses elected for the Parliament who shall not take the Oath of Allegiance made 1. Eliz. at their entry in the Parliament House, shall have no voyce in Parliament, but be construed, as if they had never been elected, and suffer such paines and penalties, as if they had presumed to sit in Parliament without election, returne, or authority*. By this

Oath mentioned in the Statute, they are bound to beare faith and true Allegiance to the *Queenes Highnesse, her Heires, and lawfull Successours*, and to their power assist and defend all jurisdictions, priviledges, preeminences, and authorities, belonging to the *Queenes Highnesse, her Heires, and Successours*, or united and annexed to the *Imperiall Crown of this Realme*: as likewise by their Oath, 3. *Jac.* being bound to defend him and his lawfull Successours to the uttermost of their power against all Conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person, Crowne, and Dignity, by reason of any Sentence or Declaration flowing from the Pope, or otherwise, and to their best endeavour to discover and make knowne to his Majesty, his Heires, and Successours all Treasons, and traiterous conspiracies, which they shall know, or heare of to be against him or any of them. Here you see all Subjects and every one to the uttermost of their power, are bound to assist and defend the Kings Right and Prerogative, and that none can enter the Houses of Parliament till actually they sweare it: will it therefore from hence follow, that all and every one of his Majesties Subjects, at least such as have entered the Houses of Parliament, all and every one of them are forsworne? who have intended or attempted any thing besides, or who intending or doing it hath not raised him to the highest degree and pitch of honour, glory and power. In this case I am hopefull the *Observer* like *Judah*, will be more favourable to himselfe and his patrons, than he is in the other to his Sovereigne: who before these new Statists, that ever wrote the charge of a King, bound him to promote all and every one of his Subjects to all kinde and highest degree of politicall and temporall happinesse? Is it in the power of the most puissant Monarch upon earth to advance all his Subjects capable and deserving men to the highest pitch of happinesse and honour? *Parcius ista viris, &c.*

To shut up all that concerneth this first absurd Consequence drawn from this abused Maxime, I intreat the *Observer* to remember that Almighty God did never judge it fit to entrust the People with their own safety, but in a subordinate way, hath committed this trust to his Anointed, his *Vicererents upon earth*: from whence issueth this Consequence, that *Salus Regis est salus populi*, The safety of the King is the safety of the people; as *Salus animæ est salus corporis*, the safety of the soule is the safety of the body. The Fathers judged it so; see *Iustin Martyr quest. 6. resp. ad Orthod. q. 138.* ὅτι οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνδραγαθὸν ἐκ λυγρῆς καὶ σκωτικῆς, ὥστε καὶ βασιλεὺς οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ βασιλευμένου. This holy Father knew no other case of a Kingdome than that the King is the soule, and the Subjects the body: Let the *Observer* judge then, where the safety is most considerable:

able: and learne from *Salust*, *Animi imperia, corporis servitus quimus*; or from *Tacitus*, *Nempe ist, that is, Imperatoribus, diu Imperium dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est*. And the Heathen will learne him to acknowledge, that the honour and safety of the King, his glory, and entire Prerogative is the transcendent *aum* of all politiques, the paramount Law, that giveth Law to all Lawes concerning private men, their lives, estate, and honour; and that all Subjects are to promote the Sovereigne Right and Prerogative to the utmost of their power, as the publique soule of the Kingdome, and the breath of their nostrills.

The second corollary, which the *Observator* deduceth out of this principle, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, is that it were strange if the people subjecting themselves to command should aime at any thing but their own good in the first and last place. This consequence presupposeth two errors, the one is that the people are the immediate authours and donors of Sovereignty, which we have already refuted: the other is, that the conveyance of Sovereignty is by trust, and that in that portion and proportion the people please, the error of which we will by God's grace discover in our third question. To take this off briefly, I aske of the *Observator*, that seeing God hath ordained *rule and subjection*, and directeth mankind to their greatest convenience by Government; and seeing God and Nature teach, and all do acknowledge that the *good, plenty, peace, and safety of the people* cannot be effected or attained to, except the King be proportioned to so high a degree of honour, wealth, and power, that as father he may protect all, administrate justice, secure from oppression and sedition at home, and from invasion abroad; and have maintenance proportionable to these ends, whether or not in order of Nature, in the first place it is necessary that *this power, honour, and maintenance* be secured to the King, without which we cannot expect safety, peace, or good to the Subject? Except we have made a divorce betwixt our selves and reason, we must grant this Truth. If you will trust *Saint Chrysostome*, heare him speake it upon *Rom. 13.* upon these words, *He is the Minister of God for good unto thee*, *ὁς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὁ ἀποστόλος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ὁ ἀποστόλος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ὁ ἀποστόλος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ὁ ἀποστόλος τοῦ κυρίου*. In which words two things are expressed; first, that the King is immediately sent from God; the other is that he is sent for our good; no safety then for us without him, and for both respects we are to honour him, for all good which we have by our industry is by influence from his Government, and he is a co-worker with us, and auxiliary in it. If this be not enough, turne to him, upon the words, *Not onely for wrath but for conscience sake*; where he saith, that the

the King is, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχὴ καὶ οἰκονομία πολιτικῆς, καὶ μὴ ἀγαθὰ διὰ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν τοῦ πᾶσι γινώσκων, καὶ ἀνάγκη αὐτῶν πάντα ὀχεύεσθαι, καὶ ἡ πόλις, ἡ χώρα, ἡ ἀγορὰ, ἡ ἀλλο ἕξ ὅτις τῶν ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀνατραπείτω, τῶν δυνατωτέρων τοῦ ἀσθενέστερου ἡγεμονεύοντων.* He is the procurer of peace, and base and bottom of all politicke æconomy. Innumerable good things come by Princes Government to the society of men; which if you take away, there can be no Cities, no right to Lands or revenues, no house and family can subsist, no commerce and trade can be had, all shall be overturned, the stronger devouring the weaker. To Saint *Chrysostomes* suffrage joyned Saint *Augustine* tom. 9. tract. 6. in *Joh. Tolle jura Imperatorum & quis audeat dicere, mea est illa villa, aut meus est ille servus, aut domus hac mea est?* and a little after, *Per jura Regum possidentur possessiones*: the result is this, if you take away the right of Kings, none dare say, the lands are mine, this servant is mine, or I have right to this house. It is by the right of Kings that all our rights and possessions are secured. It is more than manifest then, that the right of King and Subject, the safety of King and Subject, are naturally conjoynd; and so intimately involved the one in the other, that in the morall notion they may be esteemed *identically the same*, no lesse than soule and body make up one identicall, personall subsistence; or at least *se mutuo ponunt & tollunt*, destroy the Kings right and good, and with the same act, the same blow you destroy the Subjects too. If you provide not for the safety of the King, you cannot possibly secure the safety of the people. *What God hath conjoynd let none put asunder.* Let it never then again be spoken or heard by Christians that the good of the Subject is the *Alpha and Omega* in Government, and demandeth by right the first and last place.

The third Consequence is this, *That the King looking upon the whole state, reflecting upon what Graces he hath granted or may grant to his People, he cannot merit of it, and what he hath granted, if it be for the good of his People, is hath proceeded but from his meere duty.* Well, by the *Observer* we see the King is placed in no better condition than a *Servant*, nay, an *unprofitable Servant*, for when he has done all he can do, he has onely done his duty. By these means, *Grace* is not a fit compellation for Kings; *Acts of Justice* he may do, but no *acts of Grace*. *O misera regum sors!* On the other part people are stated in that sublime condition, that they may *supererogate* with their Prince, by doing many Acts of bounty, favour and *Grace*. By this assertion a Prince is disabled from doing any *courtesie* to his Subjects. Before this miserable distempered age, was it ever heard, but that it was the *greatest happiness* of a King, that he was

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able, and his greatest glory, to oblige his people, by acts of *Grace, bounty, and courtesie*? But now the world is so turn'd topsie turvie, that when he has done all he is able, he hath onely discharged the duty of a *fashfull and trusty Servant*. Turne the Tables, and then see what you will judge of the throw. Do not all we Subjects owe durie to the King? Are we not tyed to advance his honour? Yet upon extraordinary services we believe we can deserve well both of King and Countrey. Will you not, *Observer*, allow the King the like measure? This conceit is a popular deceit, and not virtually onely, but also really, destroyes the ground of beneficence in a King, and the duty of gratitude in a Subject. By this it appeareth, that it is a naked, nay, an hypocriticall complement, when both Houses in Parliament, after graces granted present their humble thanks, and heartily acknowledge *His Majesties gracious favours*. Must not the like hold betwixt a father and his family? And shall we by these grounds be constrained to acknowledge all the acts of a father to his family, to be no better than acts of meere justice and duty? In the dialect of Scripture and Heathen Writers, *Homer. Odys. 9.* Kings are fathers. And yet the *Observer* standeth not to say, *That the father is more worthy than the son in nature, and the son is wholly a debtor to the father, and can by no merit transcend his duty, nor challenge any thing as due from his father, for the father doth all his offices meritoriously, freely, and unexpectedly.* We will not be at paines now to examine this, onely I demand, if this hold according to his judgement in a father of a family, how comes it to passe that it holds not in *pater patria*, in the father of the kingdom? The obligation to *pater patria*, to the father of the kingdom, is stronger, is straighter, than to *pater familia*, to our naturall father. And the Schoole doth teach us, and all Divines besides, for ought I know, that we are bound to love the King *appreciatively*, by esteem, more than our selves, although we cannot do it *intensively*, with the same intension and degree of affection. *Dauids* subjects said to him, *Thou shalt not go forth with us to battaile, for thou art better than a thousand of us*; that is in sound meaning, than all of us. The *Observer* hath a quirke or tricke rather for this, *that the King is not a father to his people taken universally but singly.* Nothing could be said more absurdly. I pray you is not the father of many sonnes no lesse father universally to all than to every one? Is not the King bound no lesse to protect all his subjects *universally*, then to protect every one *severally, singly*? Are not all bound no lesse *universally* than *singly*, to honour the King's sacred Person, obey his sacred commands, and contribute to the maintenance of his honour, wealth, and power, to assist and defend him in all difficulties? If you will not acknowledge



knowledge a subjection upon all *universally*, how can you tie the King to a protection of all *universally*? In Philosophie this is most absurd, for hereby you make *tot civitates in regno, quot subditos*, as many Kingdomes as there be particular and single Subjects; because the King and every Subject make up a perfect Citie or Kingdome. If it were not more absurd in Divinitie, and contrary to Gods ordinance, we would not plead much, nor presse much the absurdities of Philosophie. *Saul* and *David* in the holy diction of Scripture are called heads and Captaines of all the Tribes and people of God. Let never these consequences be more heard.

4. The fourth consequence is as impious and absurd as the other three: which is this; *That a Prince ought not to account it a strength and profit to him, which is a losse and wasting to the people*, (I agree to this with all my heart; but that which followeth I cannot relish) *nor ought he to thinke that perisheth to him which is granted to the people*. This is most false; Hath not the King his owne right from Almighty God? Can he make it away without betraying Gods right, and the trust he hath put upon him, he being Gods Vicergerent onely and Feoffee in trust? How can the Subject be free of sacrilegious guiltinesse to take it from him, if lavishly or inconsiderately he will make it away? This is not onely robbing of Sovereignty of its due, but *divine usurpation, and intrusion upon Almighty God*. What one hath by trust from another, he cannot intitle another to it, till he have warrant from him who hath given the trust. That the King hath some right incommunicable to the Subject, is so manifest, that he that will deny it, must deny Scripture. Our Lord and Master in the Gospell hath commanded to *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, as unto God the things that are Gods*. This word *Render*, imports some thing peculiar; nay, it hath more in it, that if we will detaine it, if we have assumed it, or would assume it, that by Christs precept we are to restore him to his right againe. This the word *Render* intimates and commands, and consequently the King cannot part with it; and if the Subject hath usurped upon this right, it is high sacriledge to detaine it. In this sense Kings, their Persons, their Charge, their Right, their Authority, their Prerogative, are by Scripture, by Fathers, by Justs called *Sacred*; because by Gods sacred ordinance they are inherent in their Crowns, inseparably adherent to their Scepters, which if he grant away, he is no more King, then the body is a living creature after the separation of the soule; and the robbers and cheaters of Kings out of these Rights are *Rogitidis*. Nor are these Prerogatives onely for the excellencie, preheminiencie, and honour of the King above his Subjects, but also to enable him for executing his high charge to Gods glory

Story, and the Subjects good. These as we shall by Gods grace speake:  
*Quest. 4.* are as the Lawyers speake, *In indivisibili posita, quæ distrahi non possunt, alienandi possunt, minuere non possunt*; that are so indivisible in themselves, and naturally and intrinsically inherent in the Crowne, in his Sovereignty and Supremacie, that they cannot be made away, or so communicated to the Subject, *ut desinat radix suprema potestatis*, to divest himselfe of them, *ad minuendam majestatem*, to lessen Sovereigne Majestie, although by trust and delegate power the execution may be entrusted to others, *ad minuendam sollicitudinem*, to ease him of unsupportable burthen. These are fitly resembled by the Royall Crowne, from which if you take away the least part you spoyle it so in its nature and shape, that it is no more a Crowne; as King James of blessed memory and others have well expressed.

By what is said, I referre it to the judgement of any that hath reason or common sense, whether or not it be true, that a King cannot make away to the Subject any of his Right without disadvantage; for by what we have said, it is more then apparent, that he hath a Right personally inherent in himselfe and his Successors, as a *depositum*, a trust from God, which he cannot part with, without betraying the trust God hath committed to him, with which the Subject cannot meddle, without sacrilege in the highest kinde; and which cannot be done, without disabling Sovereignty from doing that service to God and his people, with which he hath charged him.

Least any mistake us, I resume what before I have said, That we maintaine not that our King by this right from Almighty God hath *Dominium despoticum* or *verile*, we plead onely for *paternum*; that is, that as the Subject cannot without sacrilege, royall and divine usurpation, trench upon the sacred Prerogative of the King; no more can the King by any right from Almighty God trench upon the *Liberty of the person, and the Propriety of the goods* of his subjects, without presupposall of a lawfull act of jurisdiction: That is, if any or many of his subjects transgresse against him, his lawes, or common equity, he may commit their persons, take from them their lives, seize upon their whole, or a part of their state, proportionable to the demerit of their offence. Our Gracious Sovereigne, blessed be God for it, will never wave that saying of Seneca's, *Imperium unum, proprietas singulorum*. The sacred Prerogative is the Kings, but it derogateth not from the Liberty and Property of the Subject: it must be entirely secured, that it may secure our Liberty and Property. How unequal and partiall are we to thinke the King may prodigally waste away his Prerogative,

live, and we may lawfully invade it, because no grant made to his people perisheth to him, and yet upon the other part will maintaine, that *The King cannot trench upon our Liberty and Property* without highest tyrannie and oppression. *Medio tutissimū ibis.* Hold both, practise both; Let the King have his, and the people their right, and peace shall be upon Israel. King and people have their proper and peculiar, and yet severall and distinct rights. What Law? What Right? What Reason is it? that the King may or should part with his sacred Right, and yet warrants the people to preserve their rights, nay to invade and challenge the Kings Right? It feareth me that high sacriledge robbing God, his Anointed, and Holy Church, is not the least crying sinne that hath brought upon us these miseries; and many good men feare, that Kings giving too much way to Harpyes to robbe God and his Church, hath made a furious multitude to invade the Sovereignty of Kings, to teach Kings to be more zealous and carefull to preserve Christ and his Churches rights.

Let us remember that *God and true Policie* have so inseparably united and conjoynd the interest of King and people, that they be almost altogether the same; upon which necessarily it followeth, that the people ought not to account it a game or strength to them, which they obtaine and acquire by a losse and waste of his Prerogative; nor ought they to thinke that perished to them, which is gained to him; and by which his Prerogative is strengthened, he more enabled to protect, and they the more secured in safety to enjoy Liberty and Propriety, with peace and plenty.

To reason *à salute populi*, from the good and gaine of the people, to the weakning or destroying of Royalty and Sovereignty is sophisticall; it is that Sophisme they call, *à dicto secundum quid, or à limitato, ad absolutum*; to reason from one end of government to the destruction of the other, which is more excellent, and which effected and worketh the other, is totally to overthrow Royalty and Government. The compleat and adequate end of Monarchicall government, is, as we have said, to preserve the Kings Prerogative entire, and the Liberty and good of the Subject too. If any man reason after this forme, in the case betwixt the head and the body, the wife and the husband, he will soone discover the fallacie of this Sophisme. It is right, just, necessary, and honourable for a King to proportion his Laws and Government for the good and safety of his people; and on the other part, it is as just, as necessary for the people, to hold that *Salus Regis suprema lex esto*, the safety of the King, of his Sovereignty and Right, ought to be the Paramount Law, without which no safety can be to the publike State, nor to any private mans well-being.

If such Sophistries as these were confined within Schoole Walls, for the exercise of wits, it were no great matter; but such abused principles clogged with such paradoxall consequences, have a mighty influence upon the multitude; and will make them assume to themselves, or commit to their representatives an Arbitrarie power, which placed in a wrong hand, cannot chuse but produce monstrous mischiefs. These Maximes with their absurd consecrations embolden them, authorize them to pull his Crowne from his head, wrest his Sword out of his hands, seize his Ships, Forts, Magazines, Ammunition and Revenues, if they apprehend it fit for their owne good: It will make them break thorow all inferiour Lawes, that no more shall we have or know for Law, but what it shall please them to unfold at pleasure out of the closet of their breasts. And if this power be in some few, or in many, who are back'd by the greater part of the people, having a domineering power over the judgement and affections of the people, gulled with faire and false promises, and vaine expectation of a glorious reformation in Church and State: What person how innocent, how well deserving soever, can be secured in the Liberty of his person, and Propriety of life and goods? Shall it not be a sufficient and just warrant, to commit innocent men to *Jeremiab's* dungeon, to prove them guilty at leisure, because they are disaffected to the *Good Cause*? Shall it not be just to take from men, what portion, what moitie of their state and revenues they will, and sequestrate them for the publike, because they cannot confide in them; and the *Good Cause* must be maintained upon the estates of Bishops; Malignants; and Delinquents? God forgive you. Remember there is a God in Heaven will call *Achab* and his house to an account for *Naboth's* Vineyard; repent in time, and make satisfaction, before the evill day come upon you. May they not by the same grounds disarm whom they will, *as taken Gods enemies*? Those Maximes and Sophistries will make way to Rebellion, to marther the most innocent, the most deserving men. It will at last come at that, except God and Sovereignty right it, that it will be a crime to have wealth, and treason to be faithfull and loyall to King, Church and State. This Maxime, with the annexed Sophismes, is enough to destroy King and Kingdome, Church and State, and at last send the Authors, and those are set on by them packing to Hell from, which Good Lord, deliver them and all of us.

But what may be the proper, naturall, and innocent sense of the words, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*? No doubt they have a good and just sense, if they be not racked upon tentures beyond their just extent. It was, as we have said, and as it appeareth by *Cicero de Legibus*, one of the Lawes of the twelve Tables, and a Paramount Law too. But it is onely *salus amonit*,

as *Salus publica suprema lex esto*, let the publike safety of all be the Paramount Law. It is transcendent in this respect, that government first and principally regardeth the common good and safety of the whole; and in the next place it intendeth the private good of every private singular one subordinately. *Conservatio speciei, est prior conservatione individui*; the preservation of the spece and whole, is intended more by nature, then the preservation of any individuall.

The word *Populus* in classicall Authors and its ordinary use is more then *Plebs*; *Plebs* is *ἡ πλειονότης*, a derivative from many; but *Populus* is *ἡ πολλῶν πλειονότης*; id est à multo pluribus. *Plebs* comprehends onely the vulgar and baser sort of the Society; but *Populus*, omnes ordines hominum complectitur, comprehends in its extent all men in the Kingdome, of what condition or quality soever. SS. *Plebi-scitum de jure natural. apud Justinianum*. *Nicholaus Porretus ad 2. Epigramma Martial. in Cornuopia*. By which it is easily conceived, that in this *Salus populi*, in this *Salus publica*, *Salus Regis* is necessarily involved.

The word *Publicum*, as *Latino* Authors well observe, is à *populo*; and *euphonia gratia*, that it may sound the better in our eares, we pronounce it *Publicum*, not *Populicium*, so that *publick* and *popular* in their originall sense are equivalent. *Populares actiones* in the diction of Law, are the same that *Publica actiones*; *Rubric. de popular. action. actio. P. Li. cum qui* SS. *in popularibus de jurejur. P.* and *Popularia sacra*, if we will trust *Festus* and *Labeo*, were those solemne Festivities that were kept by all the people, governour and governed, different from those solemnities which were peculiar to some families onely, as *Fornicalia* and *Palilia*. By which it is manifest, that *Salus Regis* in this Law is necessarily involved and implied, as well as *Salus subditorum*; and you are not by the one to exclude the other. *Ulpian* the great Jurconsult, *L. 1. §. hujusmodi de Justitia & jur. P.* defineth *Publicum quod ad statum Rei Romana pertinet*. But in that that is private, he defineth the contrary way, that it is that that belongeth *ad singulorum utilitatem*, to the singular and peculiar good of every one singly, as *Capto* saith, *L. 1. de rer. divis. L. 1. P. tit. 8. Publicae rei nullius in bonis esse; contra quae sunt singulorum*; and *M. Terentius Varro* hath observed, *Aliud esse populi universi personarum, aliud singulorum, & quod populus est in sua potestate* (understand him to speake where Democracie is the supreme government) *singuli in illius*. With what is said, see how it can subsist, that *Salus populi* is to be conceived of the safety of the Subject, without respect to, or consideration of the safety of the governours? In *Latine* Authors the sense is this; *Salus publica suprema lex esto*. In *Ulpian*



as's sense it is, *Salus rei Romanæ suprema lex esto*. The same is the signification of the *Greek* word *σῆμα*, for where *Justinian*, *SS. Plebis scitum de jure natura gentium*, explaineth the word *Populus* to containe in it all orders and conditions of men within the Empire; his Paraphrast useth the word *σῆμα*, which commeth from the word *σιν* to bind together; that *σῆμα* is *quasi Aquæ*, a chaine or tye, and no tye to keepe a multitude together in one, without government and governours. I doe not deny but the word *σῆμα* sometimes in *Greek* signifieth the meaner sort of the people, and *Homer* and others take *ἄνθρωπος σῆμα* for an ordinary common man, to which they oppose *βασιλεύς* & *ἄρχων* *ἄνθρωπος*, a King, and Nobleman: and the *Latines* sometime use the word, a popular man for a *Plebeian* man, or a man of low condition. So *Plautus*, *Præstat divitem & popularem esse, quam nobilem & mendicam*. Notwithstanding in its proper, first, and most used sense, it comprehendeth all men and conditions of men, not excluding Governours more then Subjects; and so is to be taken in the Law of the 12 Tables, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*.

Let us come and examine *Literam Legi*, (as the Jurists speake) the Letter of the Law. *Salus populi* I find here is *Lex*, a Law; and *Suprema Lex*, the Paramount and transcendent Law: then it cannot be racked further, nor wind up to a higher pitch, then to be a Law, and a supreme Law. The Substantive is *Lex*, the Law; the epithire and Adjective is *Suprema*, the supreme Law. Then this Law of *Salus populi*, of the safety of the people, is onely a Law which is supreme, and above all other Lawes; it doth not trench upon the Prerogative of the *Suprema potestas*, upon Sovereignty which giveth the Law. Transcendence it is above all Lawes, but seeing it is onely *Lex*, a Law, it is not transcendent above *Rex*, the Sovereigne in a Monarchie. To interpret it thus, it giveth to the Law an heterogeneous sense, and is *de genere in genus*, leaping from one kinde to another. Doe not our adversaries acknowledge, that during the Democratically government of the people of *Rome*; the people had *Summam Majestatem*, *summam potestatem*, and *Legibus solutam*; had the supreme power, that *Majestas* was *Populi*, the people were so much master of the Law, that they might *abrogare*, *denotare*, *obrogare*, stop the execution of any Law, take from it, add to it, or totally abrogate it at their pleasure. And will they be so unjust to force this upon us in a Monarchie, with a contrary sense destructive of Sovereignty and Supremacie in a King?

If we will be pleased to looke more narrowly upon the true meaning of this Law, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, it will be so farre from putting a curb upon Sovereignty wheresoever it be fixed, in one, few, or many, and

license

license the people to right Sovereignty upon reall and fancies exigents in necessity, that upon the other part it will advance Sovereignty. It is most true that all Lawes should be proportioned to the publike good of the Sovereigne and People; and so this Law is a transcendent Law, for it is found intrinsically in all Lawes, as the transcendent affections, *unum, verum, and bonum*, are found intrinsically in all and every *entitie*. But this is not that which is meant in *Salus populi suprema lex esto*; The meaning is, that the Kingdome or State, not onely possibly and probably, but really and existently may be such, that the Sovereigne must exerce and exercise an Arbitrary power, not stand upon private mens interest; or transgressing of Lawes, made for the private good of individuals; but for the preservation of it selfe and the publick may breake thorow all Lawes. This case may be, and sometimes is, as when sudden forraine invasion, or strong home-bred sedition threaten King and Kingdome, State and Republique with present and almost unavoidable ruine. As you see in a naturall body, the Physician will rather cut off a gangrened member, and the patient resolve to endure it, then that that cancer corrupt and destroy the whole body.

Looke upon the *Romans* practise (which the Jurists say is *Optimus legis Interpres*) and you will find this is the just sense of the Law. Do not *Livia* and *Dionysius Halicarn.* tell us, that it was ordinary to the *Romans*, in case of extreame danger, to chuse a *Dictator*, (the greatest Sanctuary they had in all extremities) who according to his owne prudence, arbitrement, and discretion, was to command and doe what he thought fit to be done, and to act for the preservation of himselfe and the State. His Commission runnes at large; *Videat dictator ne quid detrimenti Respublica capiat*; which *Videat* was not a charge given, for discharge of which he was accountable to any, but a full Sovereigne intire Commission to rule in peace and warre, in life and death, over persons and estate, goods and honour, without controlement, relictation, or contradiction; the rule being none else but *Arbitrium boni viri*. He was *subordinate to none*: none was *coordinate* with him; nor after the expiring of six moneths was he accountable to Senate, Consuls, Tribunes, any, many, or all; nor controllable by man, by Law, by Statute, by Custome, or what else in that kinde is imaginable.

What can be more apparent then, then that this Law was never made of purpose to warrant people in a reall or fancies exigent of necessity, to rise against their Prince? but to allow to Sovereigne power wheresoever fixed, a more transcendent power in the case of extreame danger and difficultie. Nature teacheth, that in necessity this is equitable. If any attempt to wound the head, armes and hands, legs and thighs will defend with the losse of themselves,

themselves, before the head be wounded. If a canker be in hand or foot, before it gangrene the whole body, we will condescend to the cutting of them off.

In this sense which we have explained, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, is a Law that hath no iniquitie in it, but hath a good, just, and equitable sense. Yet it is not to day onely, or yesterday, that this Maxime hath beene abused to worke much mischief. This mis-understood Principle or Law put Christ to death. The *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, *High-Priests* and *Sanhedrim* avouched, *It was necessary that one should die for the people*; the High-Priest spoke it, not knowing how in a Propheticall sense it was necessary, but meaning that *Salus populi* required it; the whole Land and all of them were in danger. And in this case, with the influence of this Law, it was enough to allcadge *their authority and unanimous consent*. They were not tyed to proofes. They had a Law of which they were interpreters; or if not, they had a *Legislative power*, by which for *Salus populi* Christ must die. When *Pilate* found him innocent, their answer was sufficient, *If he were not a Malefactor we would not have delivered him unto thee*. *Salus populi*, or nothing else was the Law, the *Paramount Law*, the axis of all Politickes, to which *Pilate's* power delegate from the *Romans* was subser-vient. But what was the effect of this worke, wrought by this *Paramount Law*. It wrought the utter extirpation of them and their posterity. The over-ruling voyces of the High Priests, Scribes, and *Sanhedrim*, forced *Pilate* to crucifie the God of glory against his heart, his conscience. This was high injustice in him, he acknowledged Christs innocency, and knew that for envy they delivered him up: *Joh. 19. 6, Matth. 27. 18*. He knew besides, that without his authority he could not be condemned. If we could or would seriously looke upon this example, and make right use of it, it would deterre us from making too much of such deceitfull and deceiving Maximes, which in the end will lead us to our totall destruction and overthrow.

It was this *Salus populi*, that made *Saul* to spare, against Gods command, *Agag*, and the *Amalekites*. It was this that seduced *Zedekiah*, made his Lords over-rule and over-awe him, and clap up *Jeremiah* in the Dungeon. It is a great mistake in which a great and learned man in this age doth gather, from the words of a King to his Nobles; *Behold he is in your power, for what is the King that he can doe any thing against you?* That the Kings of *Judah* by some power equall to them or above them, might be contra-manded. The expression is *de facto*, not *de jure*, intimating that the good King was so over-awed by his Lords, that he could not protect the

Lords servant, the Prophet *Jeremiah*, although he knew he was bound to it, and willing too: when a good King is put in such a case, the state of King and Kingdome are in greatest danger.

There is enough said to discover the grand Impostures of this abused Maxime, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*; for by what is said, it appeareth, 1. That it is not to be conceived in that large sense, as if all Governours and Government were principally for the good of those are governed, it holds not in maritall, nor despotically, nor in royall government by conquest. 2. Next it taketh as granted (in the sense of our adversaries) that the compleat and adequate end of government is *Salus populi*, which is an error, for it is *Salus Regis & populi*, and *Salus Regis* hath the first place, without which *Salus populi* cannot be. It hath the prerogative like to the first table, and *Salus populi* as the second. To destroy the Prerogative and Royall power, it is to bring ruine to our selves. 3. Thirdly, it is spoken *in ordine ad alias Leges, non ad Regem*, in order to other Lawes, not to prove the King the *extract of the people*, or that by them he is coerced; But that in case of extreame necessity the King for his owne and the Kingdomes safety may breake thorow all other Lawes, as he thinketh fit in his discretion to preserve himselfe and Kingdome. 4. Fourthly, in the sense our adversaries use it, it cannot but disquiet King and Kingdome, upon reall or fanciesd feares and jealousies. 5. Fifthly, misapplied and misunderstood, it hath beene the mother of much mischief. 6. Lastly, let every Subject and Christian within His Majesties Kingdomes consider and remember how he is bound by nature and grace to *Salus Regis*, to maintaine the Kings Right, Priviledges, and Prerogatives, besides that all of any quality, and the better sort have taken an oath to maintaine it. With which how any can dispense, I professe I see not, I know not,

We need not spend much time or paines in taking off that other abused principle, *A King cannot be without the people, but the people may be without a King*, with it's Consequence, *Ergo* the people are more excellent then the King; for what is already said taketh away the strength of this argument and consequence; for if they will resolve their antecedent thus, or frame their argument thus, *The people may be without a Governour or Government*, *Ergo*, &c. The antecedent is most false, and so can bring home no conclusion at all. We have proved already, better not to be at all, then to be without Government; and for this cause God fixed Government in one, and appointed a Governour before ever there were people in the world to be governed. *Cicero* doth tell us this, *Lib. 3. de Legibus. Nihil porro tam aptum est ad Jui conditionemque natura, quam Imperium,*

*peritum, sine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.* I know what the Sectarie and Jesuite will rejoyne, the people may be under Aristocracie or Democracie in a happy condition, *Ergo* without Monarchie or a King. I doe not blame Aristocracie or Democracie as unlawfull Governments, God forbid, for then all their acts of lawfull government could not chuse but be sinfull; but that they are univocall species of government with Monarchie, I can never be induced to beleieve, (as by Gods grace we will demonstrate it, *Quaest. 2.*) governments they are, but defective; If man had never fallen into sinne, Aristocracie had never beene knowne, nor Democracie scene in the world, nor were they at first: It was the corruption of Monarchie produced them into the world. Monarchie by God in Scripture is much countenanced, magnified; of Aristocracie or Democracie you have not one word in Holy Writ to commend them. That a people under Aristocracie or Democracie may have some tolerable subsistence, I deny it not, but that they can be in an happy condition I doubt of it; especially for the Church, whose condition can never be happy under any government but Monarchie: for prooffe I appeale to all by-gone ages in the Christian Church, and pray our adversaries to shew us, where the Church is in plenty and honour, where Aristocracie is the government. In Scripture it is prophesied, *Ecco Reges erunt nutritii tui, That Kings shall be the Nurse-fathers of the Church*, there is no word to that sence for any other government besides Monarchie. If they make use of this argument to preferre Aristocracie or Democracie to Monarchie, their reasoning is not sure, and concludes not: No more then when I reason thus, a man may walke without legges of bone and flesh, for he may walke on wodden legges, if he hath lost his naturall legges with the blow of a Canon, or by a Gangrene; or he may walke upon Crouches if he be a Cripple, *Ergo* wodden legges and artificiaall, or Crouches are better then the naturall legges and feet man is borne with.

In brieft, no Society can subsist without government, the best of governments is Monarchie; and people cannot be happy, except the King and Monarchie be proportioned to that height of power, honour, and wealth, as He be able to secure Himselfe and Subjects from all mischief, iniquity, and disorder; and the good, safety, and happinesse of the Subject is naturally and necessarily involved in the sacred Right and Prerogative of the King, That whosoever conceiveth that the good of the people can subsist, with lessening and weakning the Right of the King, is as if he should imagine to see the branches of a tree bud, flourish, and bring forth fruit,



when they are broken off from the root; or to see a river of running living water divided from the source and fountain of living water, or to apprehend that the Ray of the Sunne can enlighten, when it is separated from the body of the Sunne. Let never a King imagine his happinesse can subsist or consist without the happinesse, peace, and plenty of his Subjects; and let not us that are Subjects imagine that we can be happy, or preserve our Right, our Liberty, our Property, if we account not the Lords Anointed the breath of our nostrils, and value His Right, His Prerogative, at a higher rate then our lives. These are by God and Nature so involved mutually one in another, that without destruction to both they cannot be put asunder.

## CHAP. XVI.

*A King is bound to be as eminent in Sanctitie, as He is excellent and high in Power.*

There be a great many more of these new-state-devised principles; with which our Antimonarchicall Sectaries intoxicate the vulgar; as that *Protection and Subjection are of equall extent; That a mixture and temperance of the three proper species of Government, is the best of Governments;* (which, if it be not rightly understood, is a most dangerous Position, and in the sense many conceive it, it is not *Temperamentum Regiminis*, but *Turbamentum*) That *Plus videns oculi quam oculum;* That *Rex est universis minor, singulis major;* That the *Charter of nature* entitles us to our defence against Kings; That *Rex est propter populum;* That a King at his Coronation sweareth and covenanteth with his Subjects, which if he perform not, he is punishable, de throneable; That in a Monarchie, *The Legislative power is communicable to the Subject, and is not radically in Sovereignty in one, but in more;* That *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari & approbari debet*, and a great many more; all which by Gods helpe we shall examine in the subsequent questions, as every one of them offereth it's selfe in it's owne proper place. We now come shortly to point at the great charge of the King, as we have before proved the Excellencie of His Sacred charge and Person.

What we have said of the Excellencie of Kings, that they are the derivatives

vatives of God, from him by generation, his first-borne, God's upon earth, &c. If it be rightly weighed, it will humble them in the presence of God, in their own esteem, and not suffer them to swell in pride; it tyeth them to a proportionable sanctity, and eminency in holiness and integrity as farre in degree above the ordinary as they are exalted in state and honour above the sonnes of men. *Isocrates* writing to *Nicoles*, saith to him, *ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα μὴ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν διδοίη.* The sense is the same we have expressed already, the higher in honour, they are tyed to the higher perfection in vertue. *Saint Austin* saith well, *Tom. 8. enarrat in Psal. 117. Quanto sublimis altior est, tanto periculosior est. Ideoq. Reges quanto sunt in majori sublimitate terrenā, tanto magis humiliari Deo debent.* Kings as related to men are gods, in order to Almighty God they are frail and mortall men, *Psal. 82. 6.* They are gods on earth, yet onely gods of the earth; and are no lesse. if not more accomptable to God than any other men whatsoever. *He trieth their works, searcheth out their counsels;* and if they judge not aright, *Horribly and speedily he will come upon them; a sharpe judgement shall be to them that are in high places; Mercy will soon pardon the meaneſt, but mighty men shall be mightily tormented.* (*Wisd. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.*) *For he who is Lord over all shall spare no man's person, neither shall he stand in awe of any man's greatness, for he hath made small and great, and careth for all alike.* No difference there is betwixt a Prince and a Peasant, except onely in this, that as the Prince is higher than all, so his crime and sin is above all, and his punishment will be proportioned to the like and answerable height.

Princes being derived immediately from God, and with that honour to be the first-borne Children of God, and Sonnes of the most High; what measure of holiness, what degree of righteousness is required in them, so highly advanced? They should be holy, as their heavenly Father is holy; They should be perfect, as their Father in Heaven is perfect; and this not onely in their private conversation as *Christians*, but also in their publique Government as *fathers of the kingdoms, and nurse-fathers of the Church.* Nothing addeth more to the disgrace of a wicked man, than when we reflect upon him, as descended from a noble and high Stemme. *Solomon* saith, *Prov. 16. 12. It is an abomination for Kings to commit wickedness: and the feare of the Lord is the glory of the King.* No foundation of a King's sin is obedience to him that made the King. Nothing more dangerous to a King than Rebellion against God. Happy are Kings when they resolve with *David*, *Psal. 85. 3. I will bracke what the Lord will say unto me.*

But above all, Kings are bound to advance piety, and that both in their

Lords servant, the Prophet *Jeremiah*, although he knew he was bound to it, and willing too: when a good King is put in such a case, the state of King and Kingdome are in greatest danger.

These is enough said to discover the grand Impostures of this abused Maxime, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*; for by what is said, it appeareth, 1. That it is not to be conceived in that large sense, as if all Governours and Government were principally for the good of those are governed, it holds not in maritall, nor despotically, nor in royall government by conquest. 2. Next it taketh as granted (in the sense of our adversaries) that the compleat and adequate end of government is *Salus populi*, which is an error, for it is *Salus Regis & populi*, and *Salus Regis* hath the first place, without which *Salus populi* cannot be. It hath the prerogative like to the first table, and *Salus populi* as the second. To destroy the Prerogative and Royall power, it is to bring ruine to our selves. 3. Thirdly, it is spoken *in ordine ad alias Leges, non ad Regem*, in order to other Lawes, not to prove the King the *extraist* of the people, or that by them he is coerced; But that in case of extreame necessity the King for his owne and the Kingdomes safety may breake thorow all other Lawes, as he thinketh fit in his discretion to preserve himselfe and Kingdome. 4. Fourthly, in the sense our adversaries use it, it cannot but disquiet King and Kingdome, upon reall or falsified feares and jealousies. 5. Fifthly, misapplied and misunderstood, it hath beene the mother of much mischief. 6. Lastly, let every Subject and Christian within His Majesties Kingdomes consider and remember how he is bound by nature and grace to *Salus Regis*, to maintaine the Kings Right, Priviledges, and Prerogatives, besides that all of any quality, and the better sort have taken an oath to maintaine it. With which how any can dispense, I professe I see not; I know not,

We need not spend much time or paines in taking off that other abused principle, *A King cannot be without the people, but the people may be without a King*, with it's Consequence, *Ergo* the people are more excellent then the King; for what is already said taketh away the strength of this argument and consequence; for if they will resolve their antecedent thus, or frame their argument thus, *The people may be without a Government or Governours*, *Ergo*, &c. The antecedent is most false, and so can bring home no conclusion at all. We have proved already, better not to be at all, then to be without Government; and for this cause God fixed Government in one, and appointed a Governour before ever there were people in the world to be governed. *Cicero* doth tell us this, *Lib. 3. de Legibus*, *Nihil porro tam aptum est ad sui conditionemque natura, quam Imperium*,

*perium, sine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.* I know what the Sectarie and Jesuite will rejoyne, the people may be under Aristocracie or Democracie in a happy condition, *Ergo* without Monarchie or a King. I doe not blame Aristocracie or Democracie as unlawfull Governments, God forbid, for then all their acts of lawfull government could not chafe but be sinfull; but that they are univocall species of government with Monarchie, I can never be induced to beleve, (as by Gods grace we will demonstrate it, *Quaest. 2.*) governments they are, but defective; If man had never fallen into sinne, Aristocracie had never beene knowne, nor Democracie seene in the world, nor were they at first: It was the corruption of Monarchie produced them into the world. Monarchie by God in Scripture is much countenanced, magnified; of Aristocracie or Democracie you have not one word in Holy Writ to commend them. That a people under Aristocracie or Democracie may have some tolerable subsistence, I deny it not, but that they can be in an happy condition I doubt of it; especially for the Church, whose condition can never be happy under any government but Monarchie: for prooffe I appeale to all by-gone ages in the Christian Church, and pray our adversaries to shew us, where the Church is in plenty and honour, where Aristocracie is the government. In Scripture it is prophecied, *Ecco Reges erunt nutritii tui, That Kings shall be the Nurse-fathers of the Church*, there is no word to that sence for any other government besides Monarchie. If they make use of this argument to preferre Aristocracie or Democracie to Monarchie, their reasoning is not sure, and concludes not: No more then when I reason thus, a man may walke without legges of bone and flesh, for he may walke on wodden legges, if he hath lost his naturall legges with the blow of a Canon, or by a Gangrene; or he may walke upon Crouches if he be a Cripple, *Ergo* wodden legges and artificiall, or Crouches are better then the naturall legges and feet man is borne with.

In brieft, no Society can subsist without government, the best of governments is Monarchie; and people cannot be happy, except the King and Monarchie be proportioned to that height of power, honour, and wealth, as He be able to secure Himselfe and Subjects from all mischief, iniquity, and disorder; and the good, safety, and happinesse of the Subject is naturally and necessarily involved in the sacred Right and Prerogative of the King, That whosoever conceiveth that the good of the people can subsist, with lessening and weakning the Right of the King, is as if he should imagine to see the branches of a tree bud, flourish, and bring forth fruit,

when they are broken off from the root; or to see a river of running living water divided from the source and fountaine of living water, or to apprehend that the Ray of the Sunne can enlighten, when it is separated from the body of the Sunne. Let never a King imagine his happinesse can subsist or consist without the happinesse, peace, and plenty of his Subjects; and let not us that are Subjects imagine that we can be happy, or preserve our Right, our Liberty, our Property, if we account not the Lords Anointed the breath of our nostrils, and value His Right, His Prerogative, at a higher rate then our lives. These are by God and Nature so involved mutually one in another, that without destruction to both they cannot be put asunder.

## CHAP. XVI.

*A King is bound to be as eminent in Sanctitie, as He is excellent and high in Power.*

There be a great many more of these new-state-devised principles, with which our Antimonarchicall Sectaries entoxicate the vulgar; as that *Protection and Subjection are of equal extent; That a mixture and temperature of the three proper species of Government, is the best of Governments; (which, if it be not rightly understood, is a most dangerous Position, and in the sense many conceive it, it is not Temperamentum Regiminis, but Turbamentum)* That *Plus videns oculi quam oculum; That Rex est universis minor, singulis major; That the Charter of nature entitles us to our defence against Kings; That Rex est propter populum; That a King at his Coronation sweareth and covenanteth with his Subjects, which if he performs not, he is punishable, dethronable; That in a Monarchie, The Legislative power is communicable to the Subject, and is not radically in Sovereignty in one, but in more; That Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari & approbari debet, and a great many more; all which by Gods helpe we shall examine in the subsequent questions; so every one of them offeth it's selfe in it's owne proper place. We now come shortly to point at the great charge of the King, as we have before proved the Excellencie of His Sacred charge and Person.*

What we have said of the Excellencie of Kings, that they are the derivatives



atives of God, from him by generation, his first-borne, Gods upon earth, &c. If it be rightly weighed, it will humble them in the presence of God, in their own esteem, and not suffer them to swell in pride; it tyeth them to a proportionable sanctity, and eminency in holiness and integrity as farre in degree above the ordinary as they are exalted in state and honour above the sonnes of men. *Isocrates* writing to *Nicoles*, saith to him, *ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ ἐν τοῖς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἄλλο* *ταῦτα ἀρετὴς αὐτῶν δόξουσι.* The sense is the same we have expressed already, the higher in honour, they are tyed to the higher perfection in virtue. *Saint Austin* saith well, *Tom. 8. enarrat in Psal. 133. Quanto sublimior altior est, tanto periculosior est. Ideo, Reges quanto sunt in majori sublimitate terrenā, tanto magis humiliter Deo debent.* Kings as related to men are gods, in order to Almighty God they are frail and mortall men, *Psal. 82. 6.* They are gods on earth, yet onely gods of the earth; and are no lesse, if not more accomptable to God than any other men whatsoever. *He trieth their works, searcheth out their counsels;* and if they judge not aright, *Horribly and speedily he will come upon them;* a sharpe judgement shall be to them that are in high places; *Mercy will soon pardon the weakest, but mighty men shall be mightily tormented.* (*Wisd. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.*) *For he who is Lord over all shall spare no mans prison, neither shall he stand in any of any mans greatness,* for he hath made small and great, and curbs for all alike. No difference there is betwixt a Prince and a Peasant, except onely in this, that as the Prince is higher than all, so his crime and sin is above all, and his punishment will be proportioned to the like and answerable height.

Princes being derived immediately from God, and with that honour to be the first-borne Children of God, and Sonnes of the most High; what measure of holiness, what degree of righteousness is required in them, so highly advanced? They should be holy, as their heavenly Father is holy; They should be perfect, as their Father in Heaven is perfect; and this not onely in their private conversation as *Christians*, but also in their publique Government as *leaders of the kingdoms, and nurse-fathers of the Church.* Nothing addeth more to the disgrace of a wicked man, than when we reflect upon him, as descended from a noble and high Stemme. *Solomon* saith, *Prov. 16. 12. It is an abomination for Kings to commit wickedness: and the fear of the Lord is the glory of the King.* No foundation of a King so sure as obedience to him that made the King. Nothing more dangerous to a King than Rebellion against God. Happy are Kings when they resolve with *David*, *Psal. 87. 3. I will break down the Lord will say more.*

But above all, Kings are bound to advance piety, and that both in their

private and publique devotions, and in their publique government. They ought to be more frequent in their private devotions than any else, and in the publique to be most reverend in their gestures, that their practise in piety, in devotion, in private, in publique may be exemplary :

*Regis ad exemplum totius componitur orbis.*

This duty they owe to God as *professores fidei*, but they are bound to another, as *propugnatores fidei*; that is, to see that the purity of faith and worship be preserved, with that solemnity and decency of sacred places, sacred things, sacred persons, sacred gestures, as God hath prescribed, and the holy Catholique Church hath practised and allowed. The preservation of the sacred right and Prerogative royall is that secureth and preserveth the right and liberty of the subject: and it is the maintaing and preserving of God's and holy Churches right that preserveth Kings and their Crownes. Happy is the King who with *David* can say, *Psal. 26. 8. Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth*: upon this he may with *David* confidently pray, *vers. 9. Gather not my soule with sinners, nor my life with bloody men*. If the King's delight be in the *Sanctuary of the Lord*, although trouble fall upon him, yet *helps will come to him out of the Sanctuary*, that will save both *him and his Crowne*, *Psal. 20*. The highest honour, the greatest happinesse that ever *David* attained to was, to bring backe againe the Arke of God, to leave a great treasure for building of the Temple, *1 Chron. 13. 15. 28*. and to raise the Church, and establish the worship and order in it's height of perfection, *1 Chron. 24. 25, 26*. when he finished this worke, he rejoyced more than ever. Then he said, *Psal. 84. 10. A day in thy Courts is better than a thousand elsewhere: it was better to be a doore-keeper in the house of the Lord than to dwell in the tents of wickedness*. It was this that made God send to his King *deliverance out of his troubles*, *Psal. 18. vers. ult*. It was this that established his house and kingdom for ever; it was this that crowned him with a Crowne of pure gold here, and of immortall glory in Heaven.

Kings at their Coronation offer their Crownes, Scepters, and Swords to God at his Altar, and receive them from thence: the one Ceremony signifieth that their Sovereignty commeth to them immediately from God; the other signifieth that they offer all first for the service of God: it is a vow or dedication of themselves and their power for the advancement of Gods glory: to this adde, that this is solemnly sworn by them, to maintain the purity of the faith, and worship, and the priviledges and rights of holy Church; and lastly, all is sealed with the receiving of the Sacrament off the Altar: what then can free Kings from these ties? and how fear-

full a thing is it, for them to be principall actors, or accessory to bad counsels and courses, to give up a Church, or to wrong Christ and his rights.

There be a great many that practise *Machiavel's* politickes, affirming Princes are no more tyed to Church and Religion, then as both of them are subordinate and subservient to the politique Government, and good temporall: these are truly Atheists, who *Jeroboam* like care not at all for God nor Religion, who abuse them to their own private ends: they may for a short time flourish, but in the end God will root out them and their posterity, and their memory shall be had in execration; as *Pilate* is remembered in the Creed, and *Judas* recorded in the Gospell.

There be others who seem more moderate, whose counsels are no lesse pernicious, because they seem to speake in a favourable and more specious way, like to the devill, transforming himselfe into an Angel of light: these advise Kings to maintain a worship, an order, a Church: but that it is not best to be too sumptuous and prodigall in the maintenance, or endowing the Church richly; nor is it necessary punctually, and precisely to adhere to all Gods Ordinances; and in some cases, say they, a Prince at some times, at some exigences, may give way to the undoing of some Ordinances of God and Christ, he may permit some of the beauty and solemnity of the worship to be eclipsed, devest the Church and Churchmen of some privileges and rights, which by *immemoriall possession* they and their predecessors have enjoyed, and to which besides Dedication and Consecration, the Church is by all positive Civill Law and right entituled no lesse, (if not more) than Noblemen, Gentlemen, Corporations, or any Subject or Subjects whatsoever. These counsels for a time may prevaile, and the Church may be a little for a little time suppressed and depressed, but if God have mercy in store for that Kingdome, it will not continue long. These *Achisophels* tell Kings, that if *Moses* ten Commandments, the Apostles twelve Articles of the Creed, and the six Petitions of the Lords Prayer be preserved, it skilleth not for other things, whether Bishop or no Bishop, whether good Christians preach and do ministeriall acts, or onely men in sacred Orders, authorised by Consecration & Imposition of hands, whether any solemnity in the publike worship or not, whether in sacred Church consecrated, or in a private house or barne, whether Christ have a patrimony, or his Servants be allowed onely a competency at the discretion of Lay-men, &c. These counsels and courses if they be not repented, forsaken, and the Church righted, will prove destructive to Kings, to their Crownes, to their posterity, and to their Authours and Abettours. King *Saul* for ought we read, did not restrain nor pollute the worship he found, nor took from their Priests what

was their due, but it is manifest he did neglect God and his Church, his worship, and his Servants, had lesse esteem of God's Servants than of any of his Subjects besides, and yet this is punished with the forfeiture of Crown and Kingdome to him and his posterity, and God provideth a man, a King according to his heart, to right the Church, to order the service aright, which established his Kingdome and Crown for ever. The Church was the *Alpha* and *Omega* of his Government; he consecrated the beginning of his peaceable Reigne with bringing home the Arke; he spent the most of his Reigne in ordering and establishing the service of God with it's solemnity, and ended his life and reigne exhorting *Solomon* to do the like, to build the Temple, and leaving by legacie a great immense treasure consecrated to this purpose.

If any will look upon these Counsellours, he will finde that they have a mighty zeale and care of their own honour and wealth; how much they remit their zeale towards God and his House, they intend it as much for themselves and what concerneth their private: they will not willingly dwell but in *houses of Cedar*, and can see the *Arke of God within curtains*; this maketh them that they can suffer the Church to be spoiled, if by her spoiles they or theirs can be enriched; Christians they cannot be, whatsoever they profess, they are in a contrary, a contradictory way to Christ; of him it was said, *The zeale of thine house hath eaten me up*; of them it is verified, *that their zeale hath eaten up the house of God*. If these men can enjoy their own, make up a state upon the ruines of the Church, or better a prior estate, they care not although Levites usurpe upon Priests, Presbyters upon Bishops, and Christ and his patrimony be both put out of the world: ten shekels of silver and a sure of apparell *Micha's allowance*, *Judges 17. 10.* is enough and too much for the best of God and Christ's Servants: all in end will prove *Aurum Trolasum*, like the collop the Eagle brought from the Altar to feed her young ones, so much fire came with it that it consumed the nest and young ones too.

When the Church of God is in this distresse, it is not onely sin to be accessory to these counsels and courses, but such as may and are able to prevent these mischiefs and do it not God will charge them with it. Some there be who profess that they like not the course against the Church, but for reason of state way must be given to the current of the streame, and a fit opportunity waited to right what was amisse; I will not search the hearts of such men, I leave them to him who tryeth the reins, and knoweth our thoughts afar off: onely let me put them in minde, that finnes of omission, of necessary duties are high finnes in the ballance of the Sanctuary;

*Maron*

*Meroz* is cursed that came not out to helpe the Lord: and *Matth. 23.* They are to be condemned in the last Day who fed not Christ when he was hungry, no lesse than they who robbed him of his food. It is the highest service to God, with the Church of *Thyatira*, not to deny the faith, *where Satan's seat is, where Antipas suffereth for the truth, Rev. 11. 13.* If God hath endowed any with wisdom, power and trust by Princes, and in such time they withdraw their helpe from God and his Church, it is like they will call to him in the day of their trouble and God will not heare them. Remember after the reducing of the People from the Captivity, the Prophets did charge the re-building of the House of God; the Princes of *Judah* answered, *The time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built.* None was so impudent to come directly contrary to this charge, but they meant we are poore, newly come out of Captivity, we have strong enemies about us, we must wait a better opportunity, a more reasonable time: a juggling trick it is to crosse good workes, and crush them substantially, by opposing them onely circumstantially: notwithstanding all this the Prophet chargeth them, *Is it time for you O ye!* (this compellation is very emphaticall) *to dwell in your cieled houses, and this house ye waste?* Reade the judgements, I cease to repeat it, I love not to apply it, and wish it be not the judgement of our times: see *Hag. 1. vers. 1, 2, 3. & 4. vers. 6. ad vers. 12.* Do not deceive your selves with that impollure, that you will wait upon an opportunity to right all that is disjoynted in Church; you are not to tempt God, to put him to extraordinary providence, when he has put you in the ordinary way to serve him and to prevent these mischiefs. Is it lawfull and warrantable to you to do evill or give way to evill, and to wait opportunity to do good, afterward to salve all this? Or can you expect that God will honour you to make you fit instruments to repaire again what is wrong? Certainly, you neither deserve it, nor can lay claime or interest to it.

If these men feare Covenants and Associations, I desire them to remember, that as in Scripture the first and happiest Covenant is the *Covenant of mercy and grace*, so in the next place we have in holy Writ mentioned *4. Covenant of Levi*; which is the meanes ordinary God hath appointed to preserve the other. The Scripture telleth us, that it is an high impiety to corrupt the *Covenant of Levi. Mal. 11. 8.* Both the one and the other Covenant are Covenants of Salt, that is, of everlasting durance, from which it followeth necessarily, that whatsoever Covenant destroyeth the Ordinance of God in the necessary Government of the Church, the Ordinance of the Worship and it's Solemnities, cannot be from God, from whence then it comes you may easily guesse.



Of all impieties in this kinde, there is no higher transgression, than if the *Tribe of Levi*, for some subsistence to themselves and theirs, and to gain popular applause, and credit with the Faction, assure Kings they may give way to a popular current and flood, to suffer God's Ordinances to be destroyed, the Solemnity of the Worship defaced, till a better opportunity offer. I begge pardon to speake truth in humility and reverence, and first to Kings, that although Church-men advise Kings upon such exigents, to do such unwarrantable acts, yet it will not excuse them in the Day of their Accounts, no more than it excused *Achab* that had the warrant of *Zedekiah*, 1 Kings 22. 17, nor did it excuse *Pilate*, who had the representative body of Priests and State to warrant him they had a Law, and by their Law Christ was a Malefactor and worthy to die. Next, let me tell the *Tribe of Levi*, who for their own good and popular applause do comply with a popular Faction, and set their braines on worke to make specious shewes of reason, and inducements to perswade or warrant Kings, by permission and given way, or by a small concurrence with their authority, to permit and do Acts destructive to Christ's Ordinances, or derogatory to the Worship, are neare to the sin of Apostasie, and another of an higher degree, which I feare to name. But of all Levites those are the most miserable, who being advanced to the highest of Sacred Orders, having enriched themselves by the patrimony of the Church, to keep their purchase, have abjured that Sacred Order as Antichristian, and yet make not restitution of what they have purchased. I wonder how such mens repentance could be admitted, for in such cases they cannot truly repent without restitution; *Non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum*. These men come short of *Judas* his repentance, who was not onely contrite for betraying his Master, but restored the Money which unjustly he had purchased by his villany. By the detention of their purchase, their Converts declare themselves *Mercenary*, and their fathers by receiving them into their Communion publish to the world, they care not what they loose in truth, if they can deceive the People so make them thinke by such a goodly access to their evill Cause is strengthened: I referre these Apostate Bishops to read the story of *Ezekiel*; I wish them not to be in like condition, and cease to apply the story. I thanke God there is no rancour in my heart against them nor their fathers Converts, my imprecations are no other, but to pray Almighty God to give them true repentance and to forgive them.

The summe of what we have said is this, that neither King nor Kingdome can be happy, if Kings feare not God, and do not from this feare preserve the right of God and his Church, protect and promote the Ordinan-

ets of God, and advance the Worship and it's solemnity. Nor will bad Counsellours excuse them in the Day of their Accounts, nor will the Counsellours escape just Judgement, and it is like God will make the same People a Rod to scourge them, whom they have followed and given way to, with the losse of a good conscience, and offence against God.

As Princes the Sonnes of the most High, and Vicegerents of Christ upon earth, are bound to piety in their personall carriage above other, and to procure and protect it in their publicke government, so they are bound in their private and publicke conversation and government to be excellently righteous. The Derivative naturally resembleth it's Primitive. God from whom they are by immediate derivation, *hath no pleasure in wickednesse, neither doth evil dwell with him, Psal. 5. 4.* Kings holds their Scepters from Christ, *The Scepter of Christ's Kingdoms is a right Scepter. He loveth righteousness and hateth wickednesse, Psal. 45. 6. 7.* They are by generation from the father, *Psal. 89.* They issue from the thigh of Christ, *Rev. 17. 14 & 19. 14.* They degenerate then if they be not righteous.

If Kings live and governe piously and justly, their Thrones shall be established, their Crownes secured, and their posterity be blessed, *Prov. 25. 5.* *By righteousness the Throne is established.* The good of this will redound to the whole Kingdome, *Prov. 29. 4.* *The King by judgement establisheth the Land, but he that receiveth gifts overthroweth it.* *Felix Respublica in qua qui imperat iustus Deum.* See God's charge to Kings, *Jer. 22. 1, 2, 3.* *Execute ye judgement and righteousness, and deliver the oppressed, &c. vers. 4.* *For if you do this thing indeed, then shall there enter in by the gates of this house kings sitting upon the Throne of David riding in chariots and on horses, he and his servants and his people, vers. 5.* *But if you will not heare these words, &c. vers. 7.* *I will prepare destroyers against thee, &c.* David the king knew this, *Psal. 33. 16.* *There is no king saved by the multitude of an host.* How then? *vers. 18.* *The eyes of the Lord are upon them that feare him, upon them that hope in his mercy.* He practised it, *Psal. 61. 4.* *I will abide in thy Tabernacle for ever, I will trust in the covert of thy wings.* The meaning is, his constant purpose and practise should be holy and just, and to advance pietie and righteousness: from this issueth that confidence he sheweth *vers. 6.* *Thou wilt prolong the king's life, and his years as many generations, vers. 7.* *He shall abide before God for ever, O prepare mercy and truth which may preserve him.* See *Psal. 72.* wholly, *Prov. 30. 8. & 29. 4. 14. & 16. 13. 13.*

This truth believed by Kings, that they are immediately sent from God, and his Vicegerents upon earth, is a ground of great confidence in God in their

their greatest troubles, which usually are great and frequent; for as the tallest Cedars they are exposed to the violence of greatest tempests; their onely way is to runne to God for protection and deliverance. They may lay claime to it more then any. God is the Principall, they onely Licutenants and subordinate: more favour is allowed to them, greater protection promised to them. *Psal. 89. 26. He (that is the King) shall cry unto me, Thou art my Father, my God, and the rock of my Salvation. Also I will make him my first borne.* David, *Psal. 44:4. approacheth to God in this confidence; Thou art my King, O God, command deliverance for Jacob.* A Subject claimeth protection from the King as his due, so may the King from his Lord and Master. *Solomon* upon this ground that God had set him upon the Throne of *David*, begged Judgement and Government to goe out and in before his people: *1 King. 3.* The Lord did not refuse it, but in his bounty supererogated what was fit for his more magnificence. God hath a secret and unknown way in directing and guiding Princes, and no lesse admirable a way in guarding their persons, and delivering them out of all their troubles: *Prov. 21. 1. The heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of waters; He turneth it whithersoever he will. Psal. 135. vers. ult. Great deliverances giveth he to his King, and sheweth mercy to his Anointed, &c.* The Heathen have acknowledged in Kings some *Heavenly impetus*, some strange and extraordinary inspirations and directions, seconded with as admirable successes and protection; that a *Sole* in them, something extraordinary above that God in his ordinary providence by direction or protection vouchsafeth upon others. I referre you to reade and meditate what you have written: *2 Kings 19. 35. 27. and Isai. 42. 1, 27. and you will doubt no more of this truth. This day is this truth fulfilled in our eyes; we have before our eyes such a wonderfull over-ruling direction and protection of our Sovereigne in this Rebellion, that we most acknowledge it is the Lords worke, and marvelous in our eyes. Psal. 138.*

This truth is a strong motive to perswade Subjects to all duty. First, to honour, reverence, and obey the King next to God, and above all others. The *fear of God and the King* are immediately conjoynd and enioyned together in Scripture: *Prov. 24. 21. 22; 23. My sonne, feare God and the King, &c. 1. Pet. 2. 17. Feare God, honour the King.* See *Tertullian* to this purpose in the places we cited before: and *Gregory Nazianzen. Quas. 16.* which is a funerall Oration for *Basil the great.* The Morall Law hath mixt to the duty we owe to God in the first Table, placed in the first place, *Honora patrem; Honour the King.* What Divinity then can it be which this miserable unhappy age hath invented and perverted, that

that the feare of God and the King are inconsistent; and the best badge of a Christian is to oppose the just and lawfull demands and commands of Kings? This is none of Christs, his Apostles, nor ancient Christians and Martyrs doctrine. What Christian heart can be so hard as not to mourne for this, and cry out with that holy Martyr *Polycarpe*; Good Lord, for what times hast thou reserved me?

Againe, this truth that Kings are Gods Vicegerents, sent by immediate Commission from him, tyed us to maintaine our Kings in honour, wealth, and power, proportioned to so high a calling. This the word *Honora patrem*, honour thy father naturally in the diction and dialect of the Scripture, imports, 1 *Tim. 5. 17. 31.* Almighty God, although his immensitie be attended with an *αὐτοφύα* and *αὐτονομία*, an able sufficiency and all felicity, yet hath he sequestered and set a-part some persons peculiarly for his sacred service; some place for his publike worship; and some *Quota* of our revenues and industrie; that all men may acknowledge *Hu Sovereignty*; and their owne dependency from; and subordination and subjection to him; so it is the good will and pleasure of God; that all Subjects should in testimony of their subjection to Sovereignty, and in true acknowledgement of their Supremacie, contribute some of their meanes for the maintenance and honour of the King: this is the Apostles doctrine, *Rom. 13. 6.* For, for this cause pay tribute also; for they are Gods Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. What can be more fully said? They are immediately from God, They are Gods Ministers, for this cause then we are bound to pay tribute. And let us for in the frontispice of the verse make you reflect your eyes upon that which goeth before, and you will finde it is not an arbitrary right they have to this, which is given unto them by a voluntary compact or grant, or extorted by force, the Apostle sheweth this we doe, not onely for wrath (that is, for feare of punishment, for in their power it is to punish those who will not doe this duty) but for conscience sake. This our Lord and Master both taught and practised, paying tribute to *Caesar*, and commanding to render to *Caesar* the things that were *Caesars*; due to him as *Caesar*, not by grant or compact from the people. And reason it selfe evinceth, that this maintenance should be proportionall to the high degree and measure, as may preserve his Glory and Majesty; that it be not lessened or contemned, and as may sufficiently enable him to see and effect the happy workes and fruits of Royall government to preserve all in peace and plenty. See to this purpose *Justin Martyr; Apolog. 2.* and *3.* *Chrysostome* upon *Rom. 13.*

This Doctrine, That Kings are immediately from God, and independent from



From all other creatures whatsoever, teacheth also that it is high Rebellion against God to oppose or resist the King. This consequence the Apostle thus deduceth, *Rom. 13. vers. 1. The powers that be are ordained of God. vers. 2. Ergo, Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Pardon me to cite *Chrysostome* upon the words; *ἡ μὲν ἀνάστασις τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁρατὴ, καὶ τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ οὐρανόθεν καὶ γῆθεν ἀντιλαμβάνεται πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.* He that obeyeth not the King, fighteth against God; (what doe they then that come in armes against Him?) who by His Law hath established obedience, and not resistance: and the Apostle every where, alwayes, and upon all occasions, endeavoureth this mainly, that our obedience to Kings is not arbitrary, conditionall, or by compact, but necessary, and imposed upon us by God. Holy Scripture is so carefull we oppose not sacred authority, that it hath forbidden it in all it's kinds, all it's degrees. 1. We are not to thinke a bad thought of them in our hearts, *Eccles. 10. 20.* 2. The tongue is not to speake evill of them: *Exod. 22. 28. Jud. 8.* Consequently neither pen nor presse are to write, or print to their disgrace and disadvantage. 3. We are not with *Isaiah* to lift up our heel. 4. *David's* heart smote him when he smote *Saul's* garment. 5. The hand cannot stretch out it selfe against the Lords Appointed, and the Actor be innocent. 6. It is to fight against God; for he that rebelleth against the King, rebelleth against God. He that blasphemeth the King, blasphemeth God: *1. Kings 21.* The Prodigall in his returne acknowledgeth, he sinned no lesse against Heaven then his father. God hath taken them *in societatem nominum, in societatem numinum* *Psal. 82. 6.* 7. The greatnesse of the sinne may appeare, that the greatest of judgements fall upon Traytors and Rebels. Scripture is pleasurfull in examples of this kinde, and all storie witnesseth for it. Remember the storie of *Rudolph Duke of Survis*, who sweare allegiance to *Henry* the fourth, by *Pope Hildebrand* was loosed from his oath, but miserably died he; and before his death the right hand with which he sweare, was cut off, and say he could to the Bishops, This is the hand was lifted up when I sweare allegiance to my Emperour, justly cut off for my Perjury and Rebellion, for which you are to answer, who put me upon this mischievous course and Rebellion. See *Aventine* and others: infinite examples may be alleadged. If they escape the judgement of men by their scarce warrantable meeknesse and clemencie, God hath Executioners in store, and ready for them: He will revenge for his owne interest. If the King will not doe Justice against a Traytor, God will make his owne friend doe it; and if that faile, his owne breast, or both of them,



them, This was *Abshom's* case: 1. Sam. 18. 14. Thy confederates will doe it; This was *Sheba's* case: 1. Sam. 20. 31. Before an Executioner be wanting, thy owne hand shall doe it; This was *Achitophel's* case who hanged himselfe: 1. Sam. 17. 23. And *Zimri's* case too, 1. Kings 16. 18. If no man will doe it, Earth and Hell will doe it; This was the case of *Core, Dathan, Abiram, and their complices*: Num. 16. 33. This is the first Rebellion in Scripture, recorded against Prince and Priest. And take with you *Optatus* Bishop of *Milevis* note upon it, no time in Scripture recorded hath a judgement parallell to this. If all Creatures should faile to be Executioners, God will doe it by his immediate hand from Heaven: *Psal.* 144. 8. To shut up this, God allowed no Sanctuary for Treason and Traytors, as is manifest in the case of *Juab*, pulled from the Altar, and Justice done upon him.

Lastly, seeing the King is sacred in His Person, in His Power, in His Royall Christian Prerogative, it is high Sacriledge, and intrusion upon God and the King, to robbe Him of any part of His Sacred Right. The Ancient Church did judge so. *Hosius* writing to *Constantine* an Arrian Emperour, saith, *Idcirco hoc contra Christianam religionem est, ut Imperator Christianam religionem violenter perturbet.* This holy Father and the whole Church in his time did account it a theft, and an opposition to God and his ordinance by fraud or force, to cheat or extort from a King any thing due to his word, his Empire, his Sovereignty. It was not dreamed of then, that an *Excellencie* could be set up against a *Majesty*, or a *Cardinals* power erected with *Sovereignty*. In the happy time of the Christian Church this was the greatest Robbery, the highest Sacriledge, the most violent intrusion upon God and his Anointed.

The best and readiest way for all happinesse to a Kingdome, is when the King considereth that his greatnesse and glory consisteth in the happinesse of his Subjects, and proportioneth all his actions and government to their peace and plenty; and the people on the other part when they levell their intentions, actions, endeavours, and obedience to preserve His Sacred Person, His Sacred Right, and Royall Prerogative. Let none divide those things God hath conjoyned. When people are thus affected it will move Kings for the good of their people, with *Saul* to be ready to sacrifice *Jonathan*, or with *Codrus* to die himselfe for the safety of his people; or with *David* in great judgements from God, to be powerfull intercessors with God to remove his plagues, to say, *Quid merueris obire*, what have the poore sheepe done, smite me and my fathers house: 1. Sam. 24. Like to the good Shepherd, to lay downe his life for his sheepe: *Job* 10. And this will worke in the people such zeale and affection to their Sovereigne,

that they will be ready to loose lands, riches, honour, life, before their King suffer, in honour, in his sacred power, sacred Right, and sacred Person. If the head be well the body saith the better, and when the body is in good health and constitution the head is the better. Iesse trouble, no pain for prooffe of this I referre you to that noble passage of *Iustin Martyr* cited before, *quæst. & respons. ad Oribod. q. 138.* Reade the whole passage, it is an expression *in sede propria*, in a convenient and proper place.

In summe the result of all is, that from this truth, that Kings are immediately from God and Christ, independent from all others, there issueth a great many excellent and usefull Corollaries: as first, that the excellency of their Dignity is not a motive (if it be well weighed) to make them swell *Lucifers* like in pride, for the weight of their great and difficult charge will force them of all men to be most humble. *Officiu quid ad eum istu* Their Crowns are dependent from Christ and his Crown, and truly considered are onely *Crowns of thornes*: such as *Dionysius* said, an understanding man would not take up if it were lying at his feet. Secondly, as Kings are nearer to God than any Creatures in the low Universe, so are they tyed to approach nearest to him in holinesse and all humane and Christian perfection. Thirdly, they are bound to all care, endeavour, and zeale for Christ's glory, his Truth, the syncerity and solemnity of his Worship, and that not onely as men and Christians, but as Kings and Fathers of the State, and Nurse-fathers of the Church. Fourthly, howsoever exempted from humane Law and coercion, yet they are to live and reigne according to the Law and prescript of God and Christ, which if they transgresse, they shall receive punishment proportionable to their high Dignity, and according to their demerit for betraying the high trust put upon them. Fifthly, although the Royall Right be not founded in *saving belinesse and sanctity*, but is *sacred in another respect*, by a delegate power and trust, yet the way to secure their Crowns, their Posterity in the Right transmissible from them, and to make their Kingdomes happy, is to live piously in private and publike Devotions, and to intend at first and do it most in their Sacred Government. Sixthly, next to Almighty God the highest honour, reverence, and obedience is due to him. Seventhly, and maintenance from their Subjects proportioned to their high Dignity, and to enable them to act and do what is necessary and expedient for God's glory, the good of Church, and peace, plenty, and protection of the Subject. Eighthly, to resist him, oppose him, in thought, word, or deed, is Rebellion against God himselfe. Ninthly, it is high sacriledge, and not onely Royall but Divine usurpation to trench upon the Kings Sacred Right.

To shut up all that concerneth this first question, I humbly begge pardon

to intreat in all reverence my Lord the King to looke upon a Speech of Saint *Augustine* worthy of the reading and meditation of all and the best of Christian Kings, he will finde it *Tom. 5. lib. 5. de Civ. Dei cap. 24.* which verbatim is thus, *Reges felices eos dicimus, si iuste imperant, si inter linguas sublimiter honorantium, & obsequia nimis humiliter saluantium non extolantur; sed se homines esse meminerint, suam potestatem ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum Majestati ejus famulam faciant; si Deum timent, diligunt, colunt; si plus amant illud regnum ubi non timent habere consortes; si tardius vindicant, si facile ignoscunt; si eandem vindictam pro necessitate regenda tuenda Reip. non pro saturandis inimicitiarum odiis exerunt; si eandem veniam non ad impunitatem iniquitatis, sed ad spem correctionis indulgent; si quos asperè aliquando coguntur decernere, misericordia lenitate & beneficiorum largitate compensant; si luxuria tantò eis est castigatior, quantum possit esse liberior; si malunt cupiditatibus pravis quam quibuslibet gentibus imperare; & si hec omnia faciant, non propter ardorem inanis gloria, sed propter charitatem felicitatis aterna; si pro suis peccatis, humilitatis, & miserationis, & orationis sacrificium Deo suo vero immolare non negligunt. Tales Christianos principes dicimus esse felices interim spe, postea re ipsa futuros, cum id quod expectamus evenierit.* O golden expressions worthy to be set in letters of gold, with most precious Stones and Diamonds, and then put upon all Royall Crownes. It is a short (but a thousand-fold better) expression of what we have said. *Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Xenophon* in his fantasied *Cyropædia*, had never the like, it is worth all they have said, all they have written on this subject, in this kinde.

Let me adde a word or two to our selves who are Subjects. Let us learne to give to the Lord's Anointed his due, if we will approve our selves good Christians, like to our Master, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, like to his Apostles, like to the ancient and holy Fathers and Martyrs of the Church. Let us never deceive our selves, like to the *Jewes*, who claimed to be the sonnes of *Abraham*, when they wrought the workes of their father the Devill, *John 8.* Let us not shame our selves and Reformed Catholique Religion, by turning Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, and deterre all Kings in the Christian World to come to the Profession of Reformed Truth, and Communion of our Church. And that this maybe done the more successfully, Let us all pray;

**L**ord heare our King in the day of trouble. The Name of the God of *Jacob* defend him. Send him helpe out of the Sanctuary, and strengthen him from *Sion*. Remember all his offerings, and accept his burnt sacrifices.

Give him according to his own heart, and fulfill all his counsell, that we may rejoyce in thy salvation. Teach us his Subjects to feare thee and the King, and not to meddle with them are given to change. Continue the loyall, in reverence, obedience, and subjection. Reduce the sonnes of Belial, to their obedience; make thy Spirit fall upon all, that we may say, shine are we, O King, and on thy side; that the peace and beauty of thy Sion may be restored, thine Anointed with his Sacred Right re-seated upon his Throne, the bleeding wounds of the Land may be bound up, the Peace of the Kingdome re-established; and whatsoever else is disjoynted may be set aright. Do it, do it, good Lord, not for us, or for our merits, but for thy Names sake, the all-sufficient merits of thy Sonne, and plenteous Redemption of our Lord and Saviour **JESUS CHRIST.**

And let every good Christian, all loyall-hearted Subjects, who pray for the Peace of Sion, and building up of the walls of *Jerusalem*, say, Amen.

*Soli Deo gloria.*



*FINIS.*

